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IMPERIAL ESTATES IN ROMAN EGYPT

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Preface

I have but few points to clarify or emphasize in advance, for if this study does not succeed in justifying itself in the eyes of the reader, it is pointless that I undertake to do so here myself. My aim has not been to add another work to the roster of books and articles on the imperial estates throughout the empire. My purpose has been much more modest and limited: I deal only with Egypt, and only with the period during which the emperors were in fact personal owners of private property in that province. This is not the first time that such a study has been undertaken, nor will it be the last. In some areas I repeat or reinforce the opinions of my predecessors; in many others I offer a different approach and, hopefully, a more plausible interpretation. Throughout this work I have tried to guide myself by two strong beliefs: that certainties are luxuries a papyrologist ought to learn to live without; and that it is always more advantageous to the progress of knowledge to confess ignorance than to construct false edifices.

A slightly different version of this study was presented as a dissertation to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in November 1972. To Professor Ramsay MacMullen, who supervised the writing of it, I am grateful for helping me glimpse something of Roman history, a history which as a Hellenist and a philologist I had always neglected, for trying to make my English readable; and for forcing me, time and again, to elucidate various points and to avoid lack of precision or of documentation. To Professor Naphtali Lewis, who suggested that I undertake this study, I am grateful for showing me my first papyrus and teaching me how to read it; for revealing to me a new and strange wonderland; and for offering me a large number of improved readings and of various suggestions, all of which I gratefully incorporated in my text. To both I render my warmest thanks.

My thanks are also due to many other scholars whose assistance has proven invaluable. Some supplied me with offprints or copies of their work; others with photographs or transcripts of published as well as unpublished papyri; all took time to offer me help and advice. I am particularly grateful to Dr. R. A. Coles, Prof. J. F. Gilliam, Prof. H. G. Gundel, Mrs. S. Kambitsis, Prof. J. G. Keenan, Dr. H.-C. Kuhnke, Miss G. Matheson, Prof. W. Müller, Dr. G. Poethke, Prof. J. Scheret, Prof. J. Schwartz, Prof. R. Seider, Prof. E. Seidl, Mr. T. C. Skeat, Prof. A. Touisin, Prof. E. G. Turner, Dr. C. Voigt, Prof. H. C. Youtie, and the Trustees of the British Museum, London.

Athens,
December 1972

G. M. P.

Contents

Abbreviations

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The following [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

IMPERIAL INSTITUTES
IN ROMAN EUROPE

Chapter One

Origins and Terminology

Augustus' brilliant victory off Actium and his subsequent conquest of Egypt, accomplished with relative ease, made him, perhaps more than the great and celebrated proconsuls of the antiquity, [illegible] with power, [illegible] Egypt to the [illegible] Augustus indeed [illegible] [illegible] through his first two [illegible] Actium [illegible] the administrative [illegible] organizations such as [illegible] as the [illegible]

Although the [illegible] Augustus [illegible] planned [illegible] Augustus [illegible] over the [illegible] Ptolemaic [illegible] [illegible] Augustus [illegible] paramount importance for Augustus. [illegible] Antonius [illegible] refugees, land [illegible] and the promised [illegible] approximately a quarter of a million people [illegible] Rome, and presented the reports of the temples [illegible] Augustus' fear that Cleopatra might carry out her threat and poison the [illegible] together with herself in her mausoleum was indeed understandable.

[illegible]

As for the second and more durable part of the conquest, the very land of Egypt, Augustus introduced some important changes. Approximately [illegible] arouras were added to the empire with the [illegible] of which about [illegible] arouras were cultivated [illegible] the remainder being [illegible] desert. The tax-assessment [illegible] Augustus and was [illegible] decided in Rome. Changes [illegible] administration of land were designed to curb the [illegible] and to [illegible] the development of private ownership of land [illegible] profitable in Egypt, but above all [illegible] Ptolemaic kingdom to a Roman province which [illegible] brought into line with the rest of the empire.

The [illegible] which the Ptolemies had taken over from the pharaohs with little change [illegible] by the Roman [illegible] as Roman [illegible] was placed under the control of the [illegible] in charge of local responsibilities, the [illegible] Egyptian [illegible] land. There was added the [illegible] The administration of these two categories was [illegible] strongly felt [illegible] public or fiscal land.

In spite of [illegible] did not change with respect to the [illegible] The cultivation of the land and the exploitation of the [illegible] rents and taxes was [illegible] under the Ptolemies.

But the second category of Ptolemaic land [illegible] by the kings, underwent radical changes. [illegible] was substantially reduced [illegible] became public land, and the [illegible] Ptolemies had [illegible] for all.

The remaining [illegible] large area of land granted by the kings either [illegible] government officials, and the [illegible] allotments given to various classes of soldiers and local guards.

[illegible]

At present we have no information regarding the number of the δωρεαί in existence just prior to the Roman conquest, let alone their exact location. It should be noted, however, that immediately after the [illegible] especially those in high administrative positions, by death [illegible] and further augmented by treasury (perhaps with a view to [illegible] by Augustus by [illegible] temples and [illegible] In this instance [illegible] estates and, given the land administration of Ptolemaic Egypt [illegible]

The δωρεαί that survived the [illegible] certainly did not survive those of Augustus. [illegible] trusted officials and those who had taken the field against the Romans who were the primary, though not the sole, victims [illegible] Here [illegible] landed properties as well as [illegible]

In spite of constant [illegible] to the contrary, I am convinced that no new δωρεαί were created by Augustus or by any other emperor. In the first attempt at a systematic examination of the categories of land in Egypt, M. Rostovtzeff stated that "the οὐσίαι were the successors of the γῆ ἐν δωρεᾷ and, [illegible] to some extent [illegible] the δωρεαί estates granted by the emperor." A few years later, in his study of the Ptolemaic δωρεαί, the identification is presented in even stronger terms: "A [illegible] of Roman [illegible] of the Ptolemies, the Roman Emperors." In this, Rostovtzeff has been followed by almost all scholars, although the equation of οὐσίαι with δωρεαί has never been proven. So P. Collart defined οὐσίαι as "the large estates created by the emperors at the beginning of the Roman conquest, for members of their family, to favourites, including Roman, Greek and Egyptian persons. They are comparable [illegible] to the δωρεαί of the Ptolemaic period, being closer to them than to the Byzantine [illegible]." In the opening paragraph of his work on taxation, S. L. Wallace wrote that "to the [illegible] of the imperial family and to favourites were granted estates which comprised the most fertile land of Egypt. [illegible] These large private estates, like the δωρεαί of the Ptolemaic period, satisfied a temporary need and later reverted to the Roman emperors, either through inheritance or by confiscation, when they were no longer necessary to the most efficient exploitation of Egypt." In a lecture given in Alexandria, P. Jouguet said that "like the kings of the third century [B.C.] who had granted tenures of land, occasionally of considerable size, to their soldiers and [illegible] to their favourites and to high officials, Augustus too granted [illegible] and his successors continued [illegible] Egyptian land to persons of

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[illegible]

the imperial family and to great servants of the state.

It is one of the objects of this study to demonstrate the unsubstantiality of this view, while the evidence will, of necessity, be [illegible] as the occasion arises. But I should point out here that the word [illegible] in reference to allotments of land must be taken as an indication that after the end of the Ptolemies this institution also became imperial. It was a Hellenistic concept for which there was no room within the Roman system of government and provincial administration, nor indeed within the Roman law.

I have been able to find only one scholar, E. Frank, who does not share the commonly accepted theory regarding imperial estates in Egypt and who expressed an independently reasoned, his own way of thinking. [illegible] that Octavian gave Egyptian plots to veterans [illegible] Even later Caesar did not do that kind of thing. [illegible] brought properties of the authors of confiscated Egyptian land [illegible] such participation, but at least the legal Roman formalities were [illegible] To [illegible] the point that it would be [illegible] to suppose that when Roman confiscated estates in Egypt a portion of Egypt the distributed some of these [illegible] and [illegible] even though their names are later connected with such properties in the papyri. [illegible] made by many, but it completely misrepresents the spirit of Augustus' [illegible] Roman business agents would accompany an expedition to the [illegible] and bid in properties at the public auction. In some such way, I doubt not, the [illegible] of the imperial [illegible] secured their plots in Egypt.

The fate of military [illegible] was totally different. They, too, were a Hellenistic institution [illegible] Roman [illegible] Moreover, they were [illegible] and [illegible] Egypt [illegible] occupation [illegible] Arsinoe [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] as well as [illegible] they were private property. [illegible] Arsinoe, which was [illegible] heavily concentrated there. [illegible] private [illegible] were allowed to [illegible] that were granted full rights of possession.

Since ownership of property [illegible] on the population as well as some other minor privileges, non-Hellenized Egyptians were barred from owning such land. This, we [illegible], allowed, if not always encouraged, to purchase unprofitable or neglected land of other categories [illegible] they were granted all the rights of possession.

The institution of private ownership of land is one of the most radical changes introduced in Egypt by the Romans, and the complete [illegible] of the tenacious hold it retains between Hellenistic and Roman tradition. The [illegible] ownership was very active during the entire rule of the Julio-Claudians, and the sudden and abrupt introduction of such a novel

[illegible] concept in a country which had been for [illegible] years under a [illegible] system of [illegible] effect in all parts of Egypt. There were [illegible] in the Arsinoite district [illegible] more complete and where there was a greater concentration of private ownership than in any other part of Egypt. Some perhaps attach to the ancient Egyptian [illegible] not the rule rather than the exception that an individual's private holdings in land [illegible] not a compact unity but a scattering in various parts of a village [illegible]. This fact [illegible] introduced for the first time as a consequence of the introduction of private ownership, [illegible] land [illegible] Other [illegible] important factors were the constant [illegible] of property, [illegible] non-payment of taxes, [illegible] land [illegible] whatever portion of land were offered by the [illegible] of the taxes. The lack of topographical units is more evident in larger holdings and [illegible] which, due to the [illegible] of nomenclature [illegible] between [illegible] and which [illegible] part of the *patria-mania principle*, tended to [illegible] But it is erroneous to [illegible] that a [illegible] of only one type of estate. The so-called [illegible] in the [illegible] of Egypt, whether the land is an [illegible] estate of [illegible] size or the humble property of a [illegible] [illegible]

Half a century [illegible] prior to the rule of Egypt, the civil wars that marred the early period of [illegible] and the dissolution of Antony and [illegible] upon the [illegible] land itself. Whatever the subsequent effects of the Roman administration [illegible] of Egypt, there can be no doubt that in the longer run the [illegible] part of the Julio-Claudian regime was the introduction of a [illegible] and the return to productivity of large areas of neglected land. In the Arsinoite [illegible] and [illegible] the prime and problem of Egypt, the irrigation system [illegible] state of decay [illegible] the land that [illegible] Augustus and his [illegible] the task of [illegible] but there remained the more [illegible] the land.

This land was, of course, [illegible] such was [illegible] state-owned land, although the distinction between [illegible] was maintained for [illegible] taxation. It was [illegible] the practice, either of the Ptolemies or of the Romans, to [illegible] such land back to

[illegible]

[illegible] But this is very uncertain. If such were indeed the case, this would apply to two members of the imperial [illegible] who [illegible] to have had estates in Egypt: Maecenas and Livia.

In determining the exact legal status of the [illegible] imperial property, [illegible] incorporation into an imperial estate [illegible] difficulties. In particular, for example, upon private purchase [illegible] such were [illegible] as [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] appellation. After the creation of the [illegible] land of the imperial patrimonium was termed [illegible] and to call it [illegible] which it seems to have [illegible] since the two categories were under different administrative departments. Thus it is impossible to state with any degree of [illegible] to what extent royal land contributed to the formation of imperial estates in the Julio-Claudian period.

On the other hand we are on firmer ground when trying to define the procedure of [illegible] land in Dominate. In some instances such transfer may be [illegible] by other [illegible] which is specifically termed [illegible] and this is [illegible] the [illegible] land of the same category. [illegible] the evidence is certainly [illegible] a [illegible] perspective [illegible]. This is fully [illegible] well towards third century [illegible] property. [illegible] Maecenas, Seneca, Messalina, Claudius and Pompeiana [illegible] Antoninus, the Dayr Abu Hinnis [illegible] Hermopolite [illegible].

The [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] various personal private properties [illegible] imperial estate. All sources [illegible] and taxation lists, they are concerned [illegible] and accounts of estate supervisors. We have the [illegible] of [illegible] two plantations, Latin [illegible] and [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] concept sometimes as late as the third century.

The estates that were created in this manner and which [illegible] contributed to the formation of the patrimonium [illegible] always [illegible] and the one that has [illegible] transferable [illegible]. From the Ptolemaic [illegible] down to Arabic times

and the disappearance of the Greek language in Egypt, the term had one and only one primary meaning, "property," and it was so employed not only in Egypt but throughout the Greek-speaking part of the world, both in literature and in legal documents. This basic definition is given by Pollux in a series of aptly chosen synonyms (Onom. [illegible]): [illegible]

Occurring rarely in Ptolemaic documents, the term οὐσία, when applied to landed property (in which case it means "estate" or "plantation"), came into wide use in Egypt just after the Roman occupation, and this was by no means accidental: the beginning of its popularity coincided with the introduction of private ownership of land. It was a very convenient word, for it was more inclusive than such specific terms as [illegible], which applied only to a certain type of landed property, and even such terms as [illegible] had a strong tendency in Egypt to refer primarily to land planted with trees, vines and vegetables or flowers), while the estates [illegible] included a variety of types of land. All these terms, to be sure, are found in documents dealing with various properties, imperial or otherwise, but refer almost always to sections of them. When speaking about the entire property of an individual one tended to use the term οὐσία. Its chief attraction lies in the fact that it could be used with precisely the same flexibility as the English word "estate" and have as many connotations and shades of meaning.

Consequently, the properties of the Julio-Claudians in Egypt, like any other property, were normally referred to as οὐσίαι. This, indeed, became such a standard practice that, when they were combined and incorporated into a single administrative whole—what was known in the rest of the empire as *ratio patrimonii principis*—it was called in Egypt [illegible], and its departmental head was known not as a *patrimonial* or *procurator patrimonii* but as [illegible] or as *procurator usiacus*. As for the properties or estates that made up the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] they continued to be called *ousiai* and to carry the name of their original Roman owner.[illegible]

But while this new rule was made out of whole, not all *ousiai* in Egypt belonged to or were administered by it. This is an extremely important point to bear in mind. For just as the Latin-speaking part of the world continued to employ the term *patrimonium* as a reference to all kinds of property and did not apply it exclusively to imperial property, so in Egypt both before and after the creation of the imperial *ousiai* the terms *oikia* (house), *ousia* (property), and continued to mean "property" and "estate," not "imperial property" or "privileged estate." It could be for example, and was applied to private owned estates totally unconnected with the imperial patrimonium. But it could be, and was, applied to properties which for a variety of reasons, had been confiscated by the state (and so by the emperor) through the agency of the department of the idios logos. As such, these properties were exactly like so many other confiscated properties, and were or could be designated as *ousiai* being administered by the idios logos and sometimes were incorporated into the so-called "revenue" of the idios logos. They plainly belonged not to the imperial patrimonium but to the emperor, which in fact administered them. When the term *ousiai* was replaced, [illegible] and became the predominant way of designating the fiscal confiscated properties, [illegible] again, they were not the private property of the emperor but property belonging to the part of the state publicus.[illegible]

Consequently, there are only two ways by which one can determine whether a property, be it known as *ousia* or by any other name, is or is not properly called by the name of the emperor or of a member of an imperial family, or is not to be shown to be part of the *patrimonium*. And considering the fact that all the available evidence strongly suggests that after the formation of this rubric by the Flavians no more additions were made to it, it is highly likely that all the estates that make up the *patrimonium* were in Egypt [illegible].

As in Italy and the parts of the empire, there is a marked tendency in Egypt for the imperial estates to retain the name of their former owner. There are two standard ways in which such a name was attached to a landed property.

Emphasis of the possessive genitive. This is of course the standard manner to designate the current owner of an estate, e.g., [illegible] Kaisaros Kaisarios, [illegible] *P. Mich.* [illegible] [illegible] *P. Mich.* [illegible] *P. Oxy.* [illegible] [illegible] Kaisaros Aréianoumenou, [illegible] *P. Ryl.* [illegible], [illegible], Boston: [illegible] Kaisaros; [illegible] *P. Lond.* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Kaisaros; [illegible] [illegible] Antonios [illegible] *P. Oxy.* [illegible], [illegible] Hermogenous [illegible] *P. Ryl.* [illegible] [illegible] to designate the former owner, in which case the genitive [illegible] usually but not invariably added, e.g., [illegible] Antonios [illegible] Kaisaros *P. Lond.* [illegible] [illegible] *P. Ryl.*

[illegible]

[illegible] πρότερον Ναρκίσσου οὐσία (W. Chr. 176), Κλαυδιανή [illegible] (P. Ross.-Georg. II 42) [illegible]

Creation of an adjectival form in [illegible] of οὐσία. This is an obvious Latinism, and is employed almost exclusively with the term οὐσία, which in these cases comes to mean ager, *fundus* or *praedium*. In a few instances, however, it is found with the term [illegible]. [illegible] invariably designates a former and not a present owner. The earliest instance of its use may be safely considered a terminus ante quem: the estate had become imperial property. The following forms in [illegible] have been found [illegible] attached to various estates of the imperial patrimony: Ἀγριππιανή, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], Ἀντωνιανή, Ἀντωνιανή [illegible]

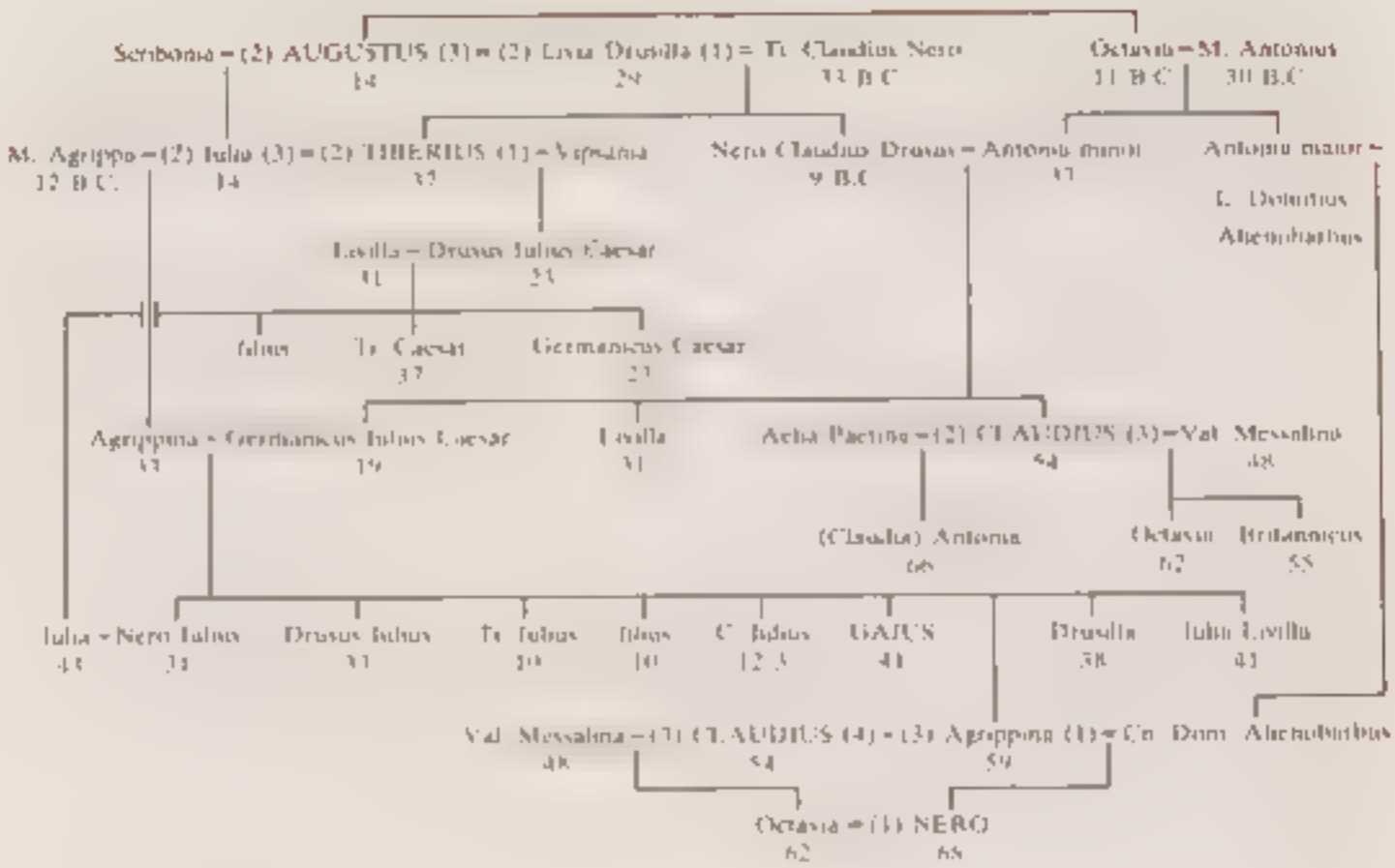
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



The Julio-Claudians

Chapter Two

The Julio-Claudians in Egypt

One of the questions that cannot be answered with any degree of certainty at this time is whether Augustus actively encouraged Egyptian priests to become [illegible]. It seems unlikely [illegible] to prove anything with regard to this is simply lacking. This being the case, we are [illegible] the earliest definite date on which the emperor himself is [illegible] Egypt. It is on that occasion, Dio says, that most trusted of friends [illegible], the architect of the force and Egyptian propaganda during Augustus' struggle with Cleopatra and M. Antonius (Dio), bequeathing his entire property to the emperor. This was certainly large and included, in addition to the magnificent palace in Rome and the well-known *horti* on the Esquiline, a [illegible] in the city.

[illegible]

[illegible]

some very extensive estates in Egypt.

Augustus' treatment of the Egyptian properties of Maecenas set an example and a rule for subsequent emperors to follow. [illegible] in accordance with the laws of inheritance and property, [illegible]

The fate of two other estates which [illegible] Augustus appears to have [illegible]

There is even less certainty regarding the original owner of the [illegible]

When the first emperor died in [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

There can be no doubt that it was Tiberius who acquired the largest portion — if not indeed all — of Germanicus' estates upon the latter's death. From evidence pertaining to plants at Rome we have a long list of Germanicus' [illegible] among the imperial slaves, but it is clear that the exact time of their entrance into the imperial slaveries [illegible] Agrippina. As far as Egypt is concerned, however, [illegible] Tiberius was the new owner of the Germanicus estates. Antias [illegible] Germanicus' wife, as well as their last four children, Gaius, Agrippina, Drusilla and Livilla, were still alive. The Germanicus estate appears to have been handed down thereafter from emperor to emperor, unbroken and undivided.

Some of the references to estates owned by Germanicus seem to have already been mentioned in connection with Tiberius. [illegible] where Germanicus, Antias and Antonia Major [illegible] estates [illegible] carried the name of Germanicus's daughter, Julia Livilla. But this does not prove that [illegible] could have been only named in her honour, and we know that another Livilla [illegible] had property in Egypt.

The Agrippinians, [illegible] another estate [illegible] with Germanicus. We are unable to determine whether the [illegible] daughter [illegible] or whether either of them created or inherited. On the [illegible] death the property passed to the emperor. [illegible] Agrippina is meant, although her son Gaius was [illegible] Nero. The [illegible] which, for unknown reasons, is [illegible] Livilla would date to the first half of the [illegible] Nero. [illegible] The identity of its original owner is unknown. But the [illegible] that it was imperial property by that time although we cannot say [illegible]

Finally, there [illegible] Antonia Major, but whether [illegible] Tiberius [illegible] Antonia Major became

part of the *patrimonium populi*, but the exact manner in which this was accomplished is not known. It could have been via confiscation, or because Antiochus presented the elder Tiberius or Claudius all depends on the exact date of Antiochus' death.

The property of Tiberius was distributed soon after the death of his son Drusus Julius Caesar in 23, and of the latter's widow, Claudia Livilla, after Drusus in 31. Whether Drusus himself had estates in Egypt is a matter of speculation. We know that [illegible] In 29 we hear of a Κόιντος Αὐρήλιος Ἀγρίππας Κόιντος, having married a lady with an Egyptian name, Dwelling in the Latinized of the Petronii brothers. [illegible] After his death we hear of a Ζωσίμη [illegible] Αὐρήλιος Κόιντος [illegible] I see no reason to suppose the lineal descendants before Lucius Petronius Agrippa, and regard this as a property belonging to the children of Tiberius Drusus the latter's sons, [illegible] and his sister Livia Drusa. The reference to [illegible] in the singular, Lucius Petronius, and to his two surviving grandchildren, Julia and Tiberius Caesar Germanicus, who was the guardian. Finally, under the heading of a [illegible] but whether it is a female or male name is not [illegible] Drusus unknown. By that time the estates of both had become imperial property.

Tiberius's estate which in all probability was added to the *patrimonium populi* during the lifetime of Tiberius, [illegible] with the imperial lands. From 87 [illegible] Nero's Dionysiakon is known to have owned property in the Arsinoite, where the Arsinoite [illegible] was located. He was [illegible] than the entire reign of Tiberius, and he [illegible] Lastly, a polemicist [illegible] Dionysiakon's estate was called [illegible] in 200 [illegible] The identification [illegible] of the strategos [illegible] Dionysiakon's estate is very tempting. He was certainly [illegible] brothers, [illegible] the Greek name and the post of the strategos were [illegible] which Roman citizenship was acquired. Dionysiakon's relationship to Tiberius's imperial lands, however, is totally unknown, as are the reasons for [illegible] imperial property and the manner in which this was done.

When Tiberius died in 37, he bequeathed his private property partly to his grandson, Julius Caesar Germanicus, partly to his grandchildren, and partly to the Prince, Gaius. The Senate realized the impossibility of such an arrangement. The emperor's wealth played too important a role and too vital a part in the finances of the state to be thus severed, and whatever Gaius's motives for his request might have been, the Senate agreed to annul Tiberius' will. The

[illegible]

patrimonium was once more, perhaps. Whatever estates [illegible] may still have had in Egypt and elsewhere [illegible] inherited from his parents and which could not have been [illegible] by the patrimonium. For Tiberius, having adopted [illegible] after which he could claim ownership of the [illegible] property in his capacity as adoptive father.

How strongly the emperors [illegible] over the personal assets of the patrimonium principis is illustrated by the story that [illegible] he held his own property together with [illegible] neither the Senate nor [illegible] It illustrates nevertheless an actual state of affairs and [illegible] the most republican [illegible] the patrimonium was concerned [illegible] But what the law stated and what [illegible] different things. The [illegible] an emperor deprived the state of [illegible] the patrimonium principis.

Claudius had properties in Egypt before his accession to the throne. He had inherited some from his father [illegible] Agrippinam in Rome. All these properties were, of course, [illegible] to the patrimonium principis and to the estates [illegible] by Augustus and Tiberius and thus subsequently passed to Claudius.

The year 37 [illegible] imperial estates of Egypt, for that year saw the passing of [illegible] Antonia Drusi, the youngest daughter of M. Antonius and Octavia [illegible] her son Claudius and her grandson [illegible] the only beneficiaries [illegible] before his accession to the throne. [illegible] quite possible that [illegible] Antonia Drusi [illegible] her son and to her grandson. [illegible]

[illegible] Antonia Drusi [illegible] the first time in a document of [illegible] There is a large number of papyri [illegible] and although the possibility remains that the original owner of some of these estates may have been her granddaughter, Claudia Antonia, I should think it more likely that in the majority, if not in all, of

---

[illegible]

these instances it is Antonia Drusi who is meant. In [illegible] Antonia Drusi seems most likely, [illegible] This statement that prices are the signature is a reflection of the strategies of the Dioscuridi [illegible] intention to transfer a considerable number of these [illegible] the [illegible] across the Nile. He states that the animals are lie, but as [illegible] pastures. We know that in 310 Claudius [illegible] and it is not impossible that we are dealing with an estate [illegible] from his mother.

It has often been asserted, on the other hand, that Antonia bequeathed inherited part of her Egyptian estate to her son, M. Antonius. Dio [illegible] that after the emperor's death Augustus presented [illegible] with part of their father's wealth. But although the emperor may have allowed the two Antonias to retain some of their father's estate, there is no assumption that Antonius [illegible] Egypt [illegible] at present. It seems more likely that Antonia deposited her Egyptian estate, [illegible] the [illegible] in which her [illegible] Drusi [illegible] the [illegible] parishes.

[illegible] Without heirs Claudius was [illegible] certain [illegible] of the imperial [illegible] into his capital. Amongst the [illegible] Dio [illegible] all the estates that Augustus [illegible] Egypt [illegible] although the [illegible] Although the [illegible] of [illegible] Claudius still remained [illegible] The name does not point to an Italian [illegible] and I would speculate that Antonius was a slave or a freedman whose estate passed to the emperor upon his death. Certainty does Dio, however, must wait for further documentation.

Regarding the presence of [illegible] among those whose properties further enriched the emperor during Claudius's reign, [illegible] papyrus dated to the first [illegible] that some of the [illegible] Antonia Augusta; [illegible] Antonia Augusta, had been [illegible] Nanagoun, a [illegible] which freedman of Claudius. We cannot [illegible] Dio exact date that these [illegible] changed hands and became imperial property. The presence of the [illegible] and his master, Ti. Claudius Felix, another of Claudius's freedmen, in charge of the prison may point to a pre-Neronian time.

The evidence surrounding the estate (οὐσία) of Narkissos is similarly equivocal. In [illegible] it is called [πρότερον] [illegible] Δορυφόρου Ναρκισσιανῆς οὐσίας. There is little doubt but that the Doryphorus mentioned here is the well-known freedman of Claudius who later became a libellis of Nero. But who is Narkissos? The accepted theory is that we are dealing here with the famous ab epistulis of Claudius who, immediately upon that emperor's death, was arrested and forced to suicide. According to such a theory, it was Nero who was Narkissos' new patronus whether the latter [illegible] Narkissos' estate would have presented Nero [illegible] what he had [illegible]. But this identification, attractive though it is, cannot be considered absolutely certain. Aside from the fact that Narkissos is an exceedingly common servile name, we have the same Egyptian who complained about the oppression of Sarapion now complaining about the [illegible] Ναρκισσιανῆς οὐσίας [illegible]. Here [illegible] to purchase new titles with his own money. Are we dealing with the [illegible] imperial estates in the same [illegible]? Is there any connection between Sarapion and Narkissos [illegible]? Lastly, was the pre-imperial property as early as [illegible] the fact that the [illegible] to be called after the property had [illegible] the [illegible]? To these questions, unimportant to be sure, but characteristic of the difficulties encountered in the present study, no definitive answers can be given at present.

We have better information, however, regarding the estates of the immediate family of Claudius, for we know that both his third wife, as well as his daughter by his second wife, had properties in Egypt. A [illegible] Alexandria [illegible] and which I think ought to be dated in Claudius' reign, [illegible] and possibly the earliest evidence for the Messalinian estates. It bears [illegible] Messalina [illegible] standing [illegible] of Messalina [illegible] her husband Claudius and [illegible]. The empress does not seem to have purchased any land in the [illegible] and [illegible] by larger properties. She had estates, however, in the [illegible] the Herakleopolite and the Hermopolite, where her name was attached to [illegible] in the third century. What happened to these estates [illegible] Claudius and their two children, Octavia and Britannicus, must have been the beneficiaries [illegible] and [illegible] they passed to Nero.

Our information regarding the estates of Antonia, Claudius' daughter by Aelia Paetina, is scanty. All the certain evidence comes from the second century, but some of the references of the first century as well [illegible] in which an Ἀντωνιανὴ οὐσία is mentioned may also point to her rather than to Antonia Minor. The standard way, however, of referring to Claudia Antonia's estates [illegible] appears [illegible] seems to have been [illegible] exactly this kind of confusion. Antonia survived her father, as well as all other members of the Julio-Claudian family with the exception of Nero, but in 66, a few months after the Pisonian conspiracy in which her complicity is doubtful, she was accused of attempted revolution and was executed. Her property had nowhere

---

[illegible]

[illegible] but to Nero.

Claudius was assassinated in 54, leaving behind him the last will ever to be written by a Roman emperor. In it some reference must have been made to Britannicus, for it was his embarrassing presence in [illegible] that Nero had [illegible] enough to have left part of the *patrimonium* principis to his son as a certain. What is certain, however, is that Nero immediately set aside the [illegible] well and assumed power [illegible]. With the assassinations that followed in rapid succession, of Britannicus, [illegible] Agrippina in 59, of Octavia in 62, and of Claudia Antonia in 66, Nero [illegible] the last surviving descendants of Claudius' house, a house that had [illegible] the greatest wealth to the lowest [illegible] human being. The entire property of the family, the wealth accumulated since the period of Julius Caesar and Gaius Octavius, the estates belonging to Mark Antony and Marcus Aquilius, Livia Drusilla, Antonia Major, Antonia Minor, and Germanicus in Egypt [illegible] of the imperium. It was not enough.

The year 62 saw the death of Burrus, the most powerful [illegible] in the halls of the imperial palace and the further enrichment of the emperor. In 64 Claudius Dorylaus was [illegible] by Claudius and [illegible] to Nero. There was a time when he was esteemed enough, and believed enough, to [illegible] ceremonies and a marriage [illegible] with the emperor, but he made the [illegible] mistake of [illegible] Nero's mistress Poppaea. Thereafter onwards his estates are listed as part of the patrimonium principis. M. Antonius Pallas was seized by Antonia Drusilla, [illegible] between 31 [illegible] 37 [illegible] of his death. He passed to the [illegible] Claudius [illegible] and the [illegible] of Nero's. He [illegible] perhaps of [illegible] but [illegible] the Prince of Rhodes [illegible] that the emperor [illegible] the phenomenal wealth of his freedman, albeit [illegible] with poison.

A papyrus which gives details about the only surviving estate of Pallas on the Arsinoite is [illegible] dated in the reign of Tiberius. Pallas must have begun accumulating property in Egypt while he was Antonia's slave, or immediately upon his manumission. This is by no means unlikely, for although he acquired the bulk of his wealth [illegible] he certainly was not a pauper before he [illegible] Tiberius. Indeed, [illegible] thereafter he [illegible] speculate that he may have spent some time in Egypt in the decade of the twenties, as the procurator of his mistress's estates.[illegible]

The same papyrus mentions large individual holdings [illegible] acquired by Pallas for the formation of the patrimonial estate. Gaius Pallas, most likely a freedman, whose property was formerly owned by a L. Septimius, and Eros and Kharmon, who were [illegible] owners, and who

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Another person [illegible] Antonius Sereno the younger. This [illegible] to agriculture [illegible] Nonetheless [illegible] existing [illegible] Roman imagine Sereno as [illegible] It appears that the [illegible] was the [illegible] and the largest privately owned estate in Egypt at the [illegible] only to that of Nero.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Neither [illegible]

[illegible]

With the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

evidence that any additions were made to it, as there is no evidence that [illegible] the throne would become part of the patrimonium [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] when both Vespasian and Titus were at Alexandria, and when a reorganization of the province, and especially of its system of taxation, was carried out.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Chapter Three

Location, Size and Type of Land

Extensive imperial estates are well attested in two of the three major administrative divisions of Egypt, the Delta or Kato Xoras, and the Heptanomia plus the Arsinoite nome. The lack of evidence of estates in the Thebaid may be due to the general scarcity of relevant documents from the region in the first centuries A.D. But it should be remembered that the only cultivable land in that region was the narrow strip of land, the Pankrasion, occasionally only one bank of the Nile, and that this southern part of Egypt took longer to pacify and bring under control by the Romans than the rest of Egypt. Moreover, the Romans used the Thebaid as a place to exile troublesome people, and it was not a worthwhile proposition to establish large estates in a region where risks and difficulties far outweighed all possible profit.

Little is known about the Delta and practically nothing about the imperial estates there. A small number of published papyri and a few more unpublished discovered at Thmouis, the capital of the Mendesian nome, provide us with a picture of conditions in that part of the Delta. One of the lessons, the Essenian, of the estates that passed to Antoninus were exploited those belonging to Landia and Khyrsion, of those assigned to Lilas, the former properties of Claudia Akte. Some, and perhaps those of Agrippina, were Heptanomian as well.

Of the [illegible] we have only a few glimpses. We know that in the Lamian estate there were [illegible] likely a vineyard, a [illegible] and a [illegible] Some time in the [illegible] period, [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] This is a moderate amount, and the estate must have [illegible] The total represents the sum of an annual collection [illegible] to the importance of the estate. The remaining [illegible] collected for the Antoninus [illegible] were [illegible]

[illegible]

the [illegible] estate, the rest being [illegible]. The size, however, of this unoccupied lot cannot be ascertained, for we do not know the rate at which the rental was fixed in the Delta.

Table [illegible]

[illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	Total
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Paleos Arios as well as near the capital itself, Hermopolis Magna. [illegible] the [illegible] in the nome appears to have been great land [illegible] at least at the [illegible] to witness, in the first three centuries A.D. [illegible] reports from many part of the Heptanomia [illegible] productivity of an sizeable parcel of imperial [illegible] especially in papyri from the Oxyrhynchite [illegible] that the productivity was quite small in Middle Egypt [illegible].

The picture is [illegible] in the Arsinoite [illegible] very heavy concentration of imperial estates [illegible]. This was the place with the largest amount of [illegible] the second century B.C. [illegible] the place with the biggest volume of [illegible] the creation of the irrigation system that created the [illegible] Moreover, [illegible] the same persons or families [illegible] the immediate neighbourhood. The Arsinoite was [illegible] the Romans, at least [illegible] the largest artificial lake in antiquity, a lake that [illegible] of the world. Last but not least, the Arsinoite [illegible] preferred by the Romans [illegible] the Ptolemaic Greeks who [illegible] the Arsinoite was the logical place for a [illegible] Special conditions prevailed in parts of the [illegible] The initial expenditure [illegible] considerable outlay for the initial [illegible] and [illegible] wealthy Romans and Alexandrians [illegible] The subsequent profits on the other hand [illegible] the land had been sown with cereals. The dates [illegible] Hence, [illegible] Imperial estates were [illegible] from the earliest times and to underestimate the size of this grant land would be to distort the picture.

[illegible]

With the exception of Mesedina, Claudia, Nilis, Khnaton and Latonis, we should the other original owners of magnificent estates in more than 10 villages in the Arsinoite. On the northern shore of Lake Moeris, alongside long irrigation canal, [illegible] of which survive, and the northern desert road, there is a long string of small towns and villages whose land attracted members and records of the largest [illegible] Apollonia, Dionysias, Boukolias, Patsouris, Bakchias, Psenarpenouis, Kerkeosiris, Karanis, Theiza Nesos, Dionysias, Theiza Sesma, Philemonis Sea, Perkeseis, and further to the west the isolated Soknopaiou Nesos. Another linear sequence and villages runs along the southern boundary, here chiefly on the southwestern section of the line situated on the desert [illegible] small oases. Dimeneis, Philoteris, Euhemeria, Ptolemais Euergetis, Theadelphia, Polydeukeia and further to the east the oases, Apis and then Psenaues. A third group is scattered in the [illegible] Lake and the south, in spite of the name near Heraklei[illegible] new plain [illegible] land crisscrossed by canals: Anouibis, Kalliphis, Theoxenis, Lagis, Narmouthis, Hons, Ptolemaios, Tolei and Lebanis.

In a number of instances (e.g. Dionysias, Hons, Polemonis, Psenaues, Aphrodito[illegible], Metroloron, Ptolemaios, Nikiou, Iulia[illegible]) the former owners of the [illegible] are not known.

[illegible]

For a precious few (Hiera Nesos, Dionysias, Hieras Nesou, Perkeesis, Ptolemais Nea, perhaps Lage as well) we have all-inclusive lists preserved in a single document. In the majority of the cases, however, the information for any given location is available in numerous unrelated papyri, a jigsaw puzzle whose pieces are not all known, and whose assemblage is incomplete and conjectural at best. In what the rosters that survive we drawn up landowners, owners of oikonomiai, arranged by village. Although by no means exhaustive, it nonetheless impressive:

Anoutias (Them.): Agrippina
Bakkhias (Her.): Germanicus, Livia Drusilla, Maecenas
Bernikis Sigialou (Them.): Antonia, Lucius, Pallas (Khaimonos)
Boubastos (Her.): Antonia
Dionysias: Antonia
Dionysias Hieras Nesou (Her.): Claudia, Antonia, Alexandros, Dionysodotos, Doryphoros, Maecenas, Pallas (Numerianus), Seneca
Epiqeides (Her.): Dionysodotos, Pallas (Hucundus and Khresimos)
Euhemeria (Them.): Agrippina, Claudius, Antonia, Antonia (Drusi), Claudius, Gaius, Germanicus, Livia Drusilla, Claudia Livilla, Livilla, children, Iulia Livilla, Alexandros, Dionysodotos, Lucius, Maecenas, Pallas (Khaimonos), Polos, Petronius, Seneca, Sokrates
Herakleia (Them.): Antonia, Drusi, Nero, Doryphoros (Sarapiaios), Maecenas, Pallas (Hucundus and Khresimos), Sarapion
Hiera Nesos (Her.): Claudia, Antonia, Germanicus, Lucius, Maecenas, Seneca, Sextius
Hoon Elkonipentarouron (Pol.): Claudius, Maecenas
Kanopis (Them.): Calvia Crispinilla
Karanis (Her.): Antonia, Germanicus, Livia Drusilla, Claudia Livilla, Antius, Castellius, Doryphoros, Lurius, Maecenas, Pallas (Hucundus and Khresimos), Khaimonos, Pollas, Seneca
Kerkesoukha (Her.): Germanicus, Claudius, Gaius, Maecenas, Seneca, Sextius
Lage (Them.): Germanicus, Lucius, Maecenas, Pallas (Leonas and Mousaios)
Neilopolis (Her.): Maecenas, Khaimonos, Sextius
Petsonis (Her.): Antius, Seneca
Perkeesis (Her.): Claudia, Antonia, Seneca
Philadelphia (Her.): Antonia, Germanicus, Germanicus, children, Livia Drusilla, Claudius, Lucius, Maecenas, Pallas (Hucundus and Khresimos), Petronius, Seneca
Philoteris (Them.): Antonia, Germanicus, children
Philoteris (Them.): Antonia, Lucius, Maecenas
Pontopeiamon (Her.): Claudius, Lucius, Maecenas, Pallas (Pollas)
Psenyris (Her.): Antonia, Germanicus, Pallas (Hucundus and Khresimos), Seneca
Ptolemais Nea (Her.): Claudius, Antonia, Germanicus, Lucius, Sedecia
Pyrrhou Narmouthios (Them.): Agrippina
Sebennytos (Her.): Maecenas
Seleuf (Her.): Doryphoros
Senf: Maecenas
Sokonopaiou Nesos (Her.): Antonia, Germanicus, Germanicus, children, Livia Drusilla,

[illegible]

Anthos, Natkissos.

Tertiums (Pol.): Antonia, Claudius, Germanicus' children, Livia Drusilla, Eleuphrosus, Lurius, Seneca, Severus.

Theadelphia (Fiorini): Agrippina, Antonia, Germanicus, Germanicus' children, Livia Drusilla, Dionysodotos, Dioscheiros, Maecenas, Menas-Menaios, Pallas, Theonilas, and Kheesimos, Khamisos, Seneca, Severus.

Theoxenis (Fiorini): Claudius, Antonia, Germanicus' children, Livia Drusilla.

[illegible]: Antonia, Drusus.

Although we know the size of some isolated dispersed estates, there are no bases for estimating the total extent of the holdings of any given individual. Even more complicated is the task of calculating the entire amount of [illegible] land. In fact, this could be attempted only for the Arsinoite, where our information is [illegible] and even there only to a limited extent. Of the villages that survive, only a few [illegible] and all of them deal exclusively with grain-producing land. For other types of land, we have only partial records of tax-farmers and private documents; they refer to the existence of [illegible] and they often give us their location, but [illegible] their overall dimensions.

The most valuable, most complete, and most detailed evidence we have for us deals with five neighboring villages on the northwestern shore of Lake Moeris, forming a single [illegible] Theira, Sinnis, Dionysias, Bacchias, Soknopaiou Nesos, Perkeusis. The [illegible] and Kerkeosiris. The largest section of this document is a detailed list of all the [illegible] the official paying taxes and rentals in wheat, i.e., all the [illegible] restricted, private land, only the [illegible] of the Arsinoite, and all the [illegible]. The grand total of this grain-producing field of the ocean, [illegible] was 82,138 [illegible] and the village [illegible] that the [illegible] rentals for the year 1[illegible] might be [illegible] 1[illegible] satisfactory when [illegible] per aroura. Nearly one-third of the land, 4[illegible] 1[illegible] [illegible] all the land of Perkeusis, which [illegible] was owned [illegible], by Seneca (Table 2). The rental of the [illegible] 1[illegible] [illegible] slightly less than [illegible] per aroura. The [illegible] of the [illegible] offered, but it should be noted that total land [illegible] and revenue [illegible] at a higher rate. The amount of the Arsinoite is kept down because [illegible] of privately owned land administered by a paid tax at a flat rate of one artaba per aroura.

The list of the former owners of property [illegible] in the [illegible] appears to be complete (Table 2a). The Arsinoite was [illegible] of the estates of Germanicus, Maecenas, Lurius, Severus, Alexandros, Dionysodotos, Pallas, Nemesion, and an insignificant number of private holdings of Antonia, the daughter of Augustus, which had all been subsequently sold to various individuals. The grand total is [illegible] amount assessed at 20,238 [illegible] of

[illegible]

[illegible]

wheat. The portion of [illegible] was larger [illegible] and this is the only instance of such an occurrence. As was the standard in the [illegible], it comprised the estates of Doryphoros and Seneca, of the latter.

Table 1 P. Bour. 42 (A.D. 167)

Cadastre of five villages in the Herakleides division, Arsinoite. Total area of grain land

Village	Royal	Sacred	Ousiake	Private	Total
Hiera Nesos	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Polydeukia			[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]
Ptolemais Nea	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

the small amount of [illegible] land [illegible]. The grand total is [illegible] arourae, plus up [illegible] of [illegible].

Table 2 P. Bour. 42 (A.D. 167)

Ousiai of five villages in the Herakleides division, Arsinoite. Total area of ousiake grain land

	Estate	Hiera Nesos	[illegible]	Polydeukia	Ptolemais Nea	Total	
[illegible]	Germanikian	[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]	
	Maecenatian	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]				[illegible]	
	Alexandrian		[illegible]			[illegible]	
	[illegible]		[illegible]			[illegible]	
	[illegible]		[illegible]			[illegible]	
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	
	Total [illegible]						[illegible]
[illegible]	Senecan	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
	Doryphorian		[illegible]			[illegible]	
	Total [illegible]						[illegible]
	Grand Total						[illegible]

A few miles to the east are the villages of Karanis, Psenarpsenesis and Patsontis. An assessment list for [illegible] [illegible] 211 12 treats them together, and it appears that they also formed a

[illegible]

[illegible]

Table 1 [illegible]

Calculation of [illegible] Acreage in the Herakleia-Metapontum Territory

Land	Kleroi	Peripheral	Demosia	Total
Macrinianus	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
Anthrax	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
Lucanian A				
Kleroi	[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible] Pallantiae				[illegible]
Chersiae	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

referred to above (Table 2a), and portions of those for Karanis and Philadelphia were enumerated in the discussion (Table 3).

We cannot know the [illegible] of the estate of another large village in the division of Herakleides, Philadelphia, which must have had a total area of [illegible] arourae, and where a number of imperial estates are attested. Nor do we know the dimensions of the ownership of Bakchias, a village very slightly smaller than Karanis and Philadelphia and where at least Germanicus, Livia and Marcellus had estates.

Table 4 A.D. 138/9

Summary table of the 38 grain receipts of Aurel. [illegible] P. Cair. [illegible] and P. Chic. [illegible]

Estate	Hiera Nesos	Karanis	Kerkeosiris	Tebtunis	Philadelphia	Bakchias	Total
Antonian		[illegible]					[illegible]
Vatnian	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
Germanician			[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]
Livian		[illegible]			[illegible]		[illegible]
Marcellian		[illegible]	[illegible]				[illegible]
Sosfan	[illegible]		[illegible]				[illegible]
Sarapian		[illegible]	[illegible]				[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

These are the documents that give us a comprehensive picture of the [illegible] the grain land administered by the [illegible] the Herakleidan nome. Under the division of Herakleides and Polemon [illegible] Antonian [illegible] prepared by [illegible] Sarapian [illegible] with the total of [illegible] arourae. [illegible] of the total [illegible] Philadelphia. The [illegible] of Antonia (Sosfan), Sarapian, Sarapian and Antonian [illegible] Sarapian [illegible] from other sources [illegible] from the Sarapian [illegible] The [illegible] that not take place depended [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] and the [illegible] of the irrigation system. [illegible] whether the total amount of the land [illegible] in Tebtunis was

[illegible]

[illegible]

Table [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Table 6 [illegible]

[illegible]

(a) [illegible]

[illegible]

GRAND TOTAL [illegible]

Table 7 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

TOTAL [illegible]

GRAND TOTAL [illegible]

remaining going to the monastery. The estates mentioned are those of Dionysodotos, Menios/Menippos, Seneca and Neoptolemos and the missing name [illegible] is most

Table 7 [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
Rent	[illegible]
Hectares	[illegible]
Revenue	[illegible]
Fiscal	[illegible]
Private	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]

certainly that of Antonios/Dionysios. Dionysios has given us a detailed account of the sowed wheat and barley collected from each estate. Unfortunately, the [illegible] in the spaces he had left for the sizes of cultivated areas. The total land sowed between 200 and 300 aroura (Table 8).

Table 8 [illegible]

Estates	Wheat	Barley	Total
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dionysios/Sarapis	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Menippos	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Seneca	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Neoptolemos	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Dionysios	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]		[illegible]

Another papyrus, the beginning of which is missing, deals most likely with Philadelphia too, although, since it was discovered in Philadelphia, it is quite possible that the latter village is meant.[illegible] Of the list of landowners, Lamprias, Sotades and Khariton survive. The entire amount [illegible] of the [illegible] payable rentals in grain is known: [illegible] artabas of wheat and 800 [illegible] artabas of barley in [illegible]. This tallies with the sums recorded in the previous document, and if the village in this one is Philadelphia, [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Table [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]		[illegible]	
Wheat	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Barley	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
		Wheat	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	Barley	[illegible]

[illegible]

Table [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

	[illegible]			[illegible]	Total		
	Wheat	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Wheat	Barley	[illegible]
Balance	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Receipts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]					[illegible]		
				Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
				[illegible]	[illegible]		
				Balance	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

problem arises from the fact that, unlike the zeugitic [illegible] which could not be [illegible] at the rentals, or [illegible], paid by the cultivators of the royal hereditary revenue and [illegible] were determined according to the value of a particular plot of land, the time and the amount of the

Table 11 — [illegible]

Grain collection: The delphic Receipts of the [illegible] (1 August – 30 November)

	Dioceses		Khassas		Total	
	Wheat	Barley	Wheat	Barley	Wheat	Barley
Balance	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Receipts						
Tithe	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hospital	[illegible]				[illegible]	
Demesnes						
[illegible]					[illegible]	
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Distributed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Balance					[illegible]	[illegible]

the valley of the Nile and the demesnes of Rome. In the [illegible] and the tetrarchs of Hierapolis [illegible] to [illegible] unequal [illegible] and [illegible] time had elapsed since the harvest and the last [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] quantities of [illegible] have been distributed to farmers for [illegible] have been slipped in. Alexandria. In the parousiai case under discussion and the [illegible] finds parallels in other

Table 12 — [illegible]

Grain collection: The delphic Receipts of the [illegible] quarter (1 November – 31 December)

	Wheat	Barley	Lentils
Nyparion	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Bitos	[illegible]		
Triangle	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Dionysos	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

localities as well). We should not ignore the fact that the public granaries of Philadelphia were regional ones: they received grain not only from the fields of the village itself, but also from those of neighboring communities, such as Euhemeria and Polydeukia. When compared with Table 8, Tables 10, 11 and 12 show that to have [illegible] were misleading exhibitions.

These then are the data on which rest our attempt at a defensive and fairly comprehensive list of imperial estates in the Arsinoite. The [illegible] we can [illegible] about [illegible] sources. It would be [illegible] a more [illegible] of private documents (sales, leases, loans, memoranda, payments, [illegible] as well as public [illegible] tax-receipts, [illegible] official lists and accounts) that mention small additional parcels [illegible] the grand total of the known [illegible] in the Arsinoite is brought to the considerable [illegible] of [illegible] less than [illegible] acres. [illegible] would be expected to yield between [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] indeed. A question that must remain unanswered [illegible] present [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] figures [illegible] Considering that more than four fifths of the known imperial [illegible] and bearing in mind that a single and otherwise unimportant [illegible] like [illegible] accounts for more than one fifth of the present known total, it would be wise not to venture any speculation. The evidence is simply not enough.

Of the three areas of cultivable land in Egypt, the Delta, the Nile valley and the Arsinoite, the last was also the smallest, a comparative glance at the figures for the total [illegible] shows that the Fayum, the present name of the Arsinoite district, had about [illegible] or slightly less than [illegible] acres. [illegible] Lake Moeris must have covered about [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] were under cultivation. The first [illegible] and dikes and canals [illegible] Charles Point out that [illegible] of the Fayum, Philadelphia, [illegible] Philadelphia and further to the east and the [illegible] of the distance of [illegible] and Polydeukia between Philadelphia and Magdola. [illegible] the [illegible] of the Arsinoite under exploitation by the Ptolemies and the Romans must have [illegible] and the sixty were most likely between [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] comparison [illegible] the [illegible] period.

Clearly the [illegible] of Arsinoe [illegible] under the Romans. However, the Arsinoite compared [illegible] of olives and palm trees, also grapes, figs and pomegranates, [illegible] a little in the economy. Head the [illegible] and the presidents of the [illegible] a variety of trees to prospect [illegible] It would be [illegible] that a popular [illegible] of the district [illegible] *Fayum*.

Vineyards and orchards were the most prominent feature of the cultivation of private land in the north. We know, for example, [illegible] which had among other types of [illegible] a large amount of [illegible] It accounts for [illegible] the possible reasons the

[illegible]

[illegible]

have been a fiscally irresponsible act to destroy productive vineyards growing on land unsuitable for cereals, or to cut down palm trees and olives in areas where nothing else would grow.

During the second century [illegible] makes its brief appearance. [illegible] the type or the dimensions of the land in question. They are [illegible] in Dionysias, Psenyris, Bacchias, Neboutaites, Philadelphia, Kerkeosiris, and Epipolis. In the last village Hesquion, or renters, collected revenues from the [illegible] amounted to a little over 8500 drachmae per year.

On the other hand, [illegible] published papyrus from Philadelphia presents us with a [illegible] information. [illegible] the second century [illegible] talents. [illegible] amounts in the district of Herakleides. [illegible] per aroura, it is almost certain that this [illegible] in the district. The size of the area is large, [illegible] under the head [illegible] Philadelphia. [illegible] and Apollonios [illegible] landmarks [illegible] Herakleides. [illegible] the south of Bacchias [illegible] Herakleides. [illegible] known at least [illegible] of Nomad [illegible] and of garden land. [illegible] Nevertheless, there still exists the immense [illegible] that these [illegible] Herakleides. [illegible] the district, we are confronted with a ratio between [illegible] which should [illegible] offers an [illegible]

Regarding [illegible] and their [illegible] in Karanis, Psenyris, and Patsouris, our best sources of information are the three [illegible] In these three sites, [illegible] persons paying land taxes [illegible] and although [illegible] the [illegible] Egyptian and Greek [illegible] that this between [illegible] persons [illegible] and classes. Of these [illegible] present discussion [illegible] cultivated [illegible] were shepherds, [illegible] The remaining [illegible] garden land and vineyards [illegible] from the very small [illegible] individuals [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] on the estates of Dorypheros and Maecenas [illegible] and the even smaller payments (16 drachmae) paid by 4 persons [illegible] in the estates of Carus, Maecenas and Severus. [illegible] the estates of Anthos and Maecenas [illegible] opportunity [illegible] productive [illegible] in the estates of Antonia Dionis, Dorypheros, Cornelius, Carus, Maecenas, Nemesa and Severus. [illegible] and paid taxes at the same rate. [illegible] drachmae. [illegible] drachmae per acre [illegible] annum [illegible] 50 drachmae per acre [illegible] year. These are the standard rates on the Arsinoite for vineyards, and it appears [illegible] Plots of low value [illegible] were scattered among the [illegible] of these estates. Now the 30 individuals who paid taxes on this [illegible] 114 drachmae, which means that we [illegible] very large. The entire area of the [illegible] must have been much larger.

A similar picture emerges from Dionysias, where [illegible] a document entitled [illegible] Kouboukos [illegible] 1971 [illegible] Vineyard is attested in all the [illegible] Dionysias, Maecenas, Menas, Menandros, Nemesa and Severus. In the Dorypheros estate [illegible] 30 drachmae per acre [illegible] 5 [illegible] distributed to the Anonymoi, and these other payments [illegible] The [illegible] drachmae [illegible] but the fact remains that all this adds to [illegible] signals more than [illegible] The [illegible] of the Anonymoi amounted to [illegible] drachmae.

Some [illegible] Dionysias [illegible] mentioned in [illegible] Nemesa, [illegible] 15 palm trees are found growing on the embankments [illegible] the estate of Maecenas. We have already [illegible] 15 palm trees in the [illegible] and Maecenas near Karanis. In Euporolis Oeste [illegible] the Dorypheros estate. The Antonia estates in Bonkolon Oeste and Psenyris had palm tree groves. In the last mentioned [illegible] palm trees [illegible] also attested in Skhoinos and Euhoporis.

Aerysmos and [illegible] usually translated [illegible] and vegetable seed. It was used for both animal and human consumption and [illegible] a [illegible] sometimes in kind. [illegible] It is attested in the estates of Dorypheros, Karanis, Severus and Dionysias in Philadelphia (38 [illegible] 4 arourai). In the neighboring Herakleides [illegible] found in the lands formerly of

[illegible]

Mesoabda

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Chapter Four

Administration and Manpower

Before their incorporation into the [illegible] which [illegible] they became in fact another category of public land, [illegible] the rights of the original [illegible] people, the [illegible] manned like similar [illegible] people. [illegible] the land owned by wealthy [illegible] owners. In the case of the Mesathlitaes, who had been [illegible] the Nitrotha and the Cassbendale [illegible] the [illegible] to the case of metropolitan land owners, the master was [illegible] such an owner periodically visited by [illegible] of trusted agents to collect rents and [illegible] complaints. Living on the estate, [illegible] would be the catch of officials known by such [illegible] such properties would be, indeed, [illegible] of Apollonopolis, the [illegible] Nitrotha, [illegible] as administration and exploitation [illegible] whether a piece of land was a temporary [illegible] or a more permanent property.

The situation is somewhat [illegible] the imperial house and such magnates as Macrobius [illegible] of their [illegible] Egypt. The sort of [illegible] experience [illegible] their Egyptian [illegible] conscious correspondence problem [illegible] owners and their agents [illegible] such [illegible] for this would handle [illegible] specific matters [illegible] report of a faulty water wheel or the [illegible] of the owner [illegible] should return to, were persons who had neither [illegible] their estates. Some prefer to [illegible] Some, to be sure, like Seneca, were [illegible] management of estates, but the sheer size of their properties [illegible] distance must have prevented them from exercising close [illegible] Land [illegible] domain is not altogether a figment of [illegible] imagination. On another [illegible] existing conditions. Others, on the other hand, like [illegible] not to mention their children who

appear as owners before they had even reached [illegible], although interested in augmenting their possessions, were totally unprincipled in [illegible] or the temperamental [illegible] of the Nile.

I have already suggested in the introductory [illegible] that a large proportion of members of the imperial household and of wealthy Romans who [illegible] the purchase of land for their masters. If the rest of the empire may [illegible] Egypt, there is no reason to believe that in this respect Egypt differed in any [illegible] Asia, for [illegible] who acted as procurators in charge of the operations thereon, who reported to the owner, and who forwarded the revenues. I find it hard to believe that the [illegible] Egyptian officials present on the estates were [illegible] responsible only to [illegible] Rome. We know that Seneca had agents in Egypt, and it would be logical to postulate a system of procurators [illegible] Antonia Diosc. Iulia Augusta, Germanicus, Messalina and Claudius. We should certainly assume the existence of ships [illegible] the [illegible] of the estates that had passed to the emperor. The number of such properties increased with each successive ruler, and it seems hardly likely that the [illegible] Prefect did not have legal or [illegible] communicate directly with Rome and the officials of the patrimonium there. There is, although no direct supporting evidence for my assumption, but I think we should consider the possibility of the existence of a network of imperial [illegible] in charge of the imperial estates and that this network was controlled by [illegible] Alexandria. We know, for example, that there were in Egypt, from the time of Augustus onwards, imperial [illegible] (Caesarianoi). Strabo's [illegible] and it would be natural to suppose that the [illegible] of these were the agents of the patrimonium proper. The Alexandrian bureau and the [illegible] administration may have already

[illegible]

bearing the name [illegible] and it may have grown considerably during the reigns of the later Julio-Claudians, especially under Claudius and Nero. If this be the case, it could have been taken over and [illegible] by Vespasian [illegible] the new and familiar Flavian [illegible].

We have [illegible] procurators and [illegible] operating on estates owned by the emperors or members of the family, and [illegible] to have been a general manager. The fact that they are [illegible] known from [illegible] of Antonia [illegible] or their actual owner. But [illegible] property, this very presence is significant. [illegible] is not known. [illegible] (Kerkesis) [illegible] the property of Nero. We have [illegible] and I [illegible] in the second chapter that [illegible] of imperial estates who bear [illegible] Narcissus, Ischyrion, [illegible] procurators or [illegible] and whose property passed to the emperor [illegible] upon their death.

In addition to the [illegible] and the [illegible], we have a group of officials who bear Greek [illegible] of Greek and [illegible] supervisors for [illegible]. [illegible] It is impossible to know whether [illegible] of the estate [illegible] or whether the [illegible] other private estates in Egypt appear [illegible] than [illegible].

A document dated to [illegible] during the Julio-Claudian era [illegible] as this office is known from the [illegible] regularly as an official employed in private estates, it is most likely a post existing in the early stages of the transition from a Julio-Claudian to a Flavian [illegible], and one that soon disappeared.

We also know of two persons bearing the [illegible]. Literally speaking, such a person

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[illegible]

a simple [illegible] collection of revenues [illegible] all the operations inside a property, e.g. [illegible] a limited portion thereof, e.g. [illegible]. This is a private position, and he was under contract to the owner or his representative. [illegible] behalf of the estate, but since part at least of his functions was the [illegible] and the subleasing of his concessions, there is often little if any difference between him and a [illegible] as [illegible].

The [illegible] to a large extent [illegible] of the most numerous groups of known officials, the [illegible], persons who carry the [illegible] during the [illegible] 'managers' (or 'superintendents'). [illegible] implies that he was in charge of the entire [illegible] estate in the [illegible], and it has been seen as an indication of the fact that all the [illegible] of an estate within the same [illegible] were under the administration of a single [illegible]. This may very well have been the case, but I should like to emphasize that we know very little about this pattern of estate, and that it is by no means impossible that there [illegible] the Philadelphia plot. Similarly we do not know whether [illegible] was in charge of more than one parcel. In two instances the [illegible] is specifically stated to be [illegible] of the master's domain, i.e. [illegible]. In all these instances the presence of the definite article suggests a single [illegible], but [illegible] others bearing the same title. [illegible] and in one instance we encounter a specialized [illegible] in charge of the [illegible] whom works [illegible].

These [illegible] were primarily responsible for the leasing of the land to various tenants, the collection of revenues, the [illegible], and the supervision of [illegible] appear to have had no official or police powers outside their estate. When [illegible] entrusted to them [illegible], when an employee defrauds them, or when thieves break into their buildings and steal their tools, they

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[illegible]

can only follow the example of their tenants and lamely complain to the local chief of police or to the *strategos*.[illegible]

When a member of the imperial family or a wealthy Roman purchased land in Egypt, he acquired a plot which, at least to some extent, was already being cultivated by peasants. Part of it was certainly unproductive, and this could be brought back to cultivation either by direct management or by being leased to various individuals. The new plantations of olives on the estate of Tiberius and the children of Claudius Tiberius in Philoteria were almost certainly directly managed by the *apotomos* of the *oikos*, and the newly planted vines of Pallas in the Arsinoite must have been administered by a regular superintendent; in both instances free, hired labor must have performed most of the work.[illegible] As late as ca. 567, however, sections of the grain fields of the estate of Ti. Claudius Dioryphoros in the Arsinoite had not been totally brought back to cultivation or had already reverted to unproductivity, and the *dioikētēs* of the estate is on record as agreeing to pay a certain sum to a tenant (the *misthōsis* in the nearby farmstead of Antonia Trusi) for clearing the land and building embankments, εἰς κατεργασίαν καὶ γεωργοῦντα τὸν [illegible].[illegible]

Pastures, on the other hand, marshes, existing vineyards and gardens, and above all large tracts of productive grain fields must had been cultivated prior to their purchase by Ptolemaic and Roman peasants, original owners of the soil, and their tenants. The 2,000 [illegible] acres owned by Seneca in the vicinity of Petsweu-ta-ouabt must not have been unstitched desert when he acquired them, and the very name of the settlement points to a possible pre-Seneca foundation.[illegible]

There was no reason whatsoever for the new owner to turn out those peasants working on the productive plots of his land and to bring in hired labor or slaves. I doubt very much whether the emperor or the prefect would have [illegible] displacement, even if the owner could not realize that it was uneconomical. The tenants could, in the long run, be cheaper than hired labor, and slave gangs were out of the question in Egypt — there were not enough of them to fill all those thousands of [illegible] and the incredible cheapness of living in Egypt. [illegible] Indeed, the situation was quite the reverse: not how to get rid of peasants, but how to attract them to work on the imperial estates. In Egypt the [illegible] to bring back to cultivation neglected soil. As we shall soon see, both incentives and compulsion were employed to that end, especially during the hot years of the Julio-Claudian reign, when the economic situation of Egypt had deteriorated to an alarming extent.[illegible] Thus, first a private owner and then the emperor, also as a private owner, superimposed themselves on the local officers of the nome, which remained intact, and when the [illegible] Augustus [illegible] Claudius changed matters once more, they joined the ranks of the Augustus [illegible] and by [illegible] records dealt directly with the administration and its representatives, leasing their land from the *strategos* or directly from such officials as the *strategos* and the royal scribe, paying certain [illegible] to private tenants, having their properties sequestered by the *dioikētēs* until all debts to the administration were satisfied.

The Greek term for a tenant regardless of whether he was a *misthōtēs* or not was simply

[illegible]

γεωργός, farmer, but since his legal position was defined by a lease, he could also be called μισθωτής, lessee. In the papyri there exists a differentiation between these two terms only in so far as a γεωργός may be self-employed, i.e. he may cultivate his own land, or in so far as a μισθωτής may be a lessee of something other than land, e.g. [illegible] of a piece of land which properly speaking could not be farmed or cultivated, e.g. a marsh or a pasture, in which case the term γεωργός would be inappropriate. [illegible] subleasing which include the formulaic expressions [illegible] on the [illegible] and the [illegible] beginning with the formula [illegible] illustrate the interchangeability of the terms and the fact that [illegible] could be used for the sublessor and the sublessee. The term [illegible], although a favorite of papyrologists, is in fact quite rare.

The economic and the administrative center of an estate was usually the [illegible]. These would vary [illegible] from a single farmhouse for the superintendent and a few [illegible] workers with [illegible] a number of storage areas for the produce and the [illegible], to a more large settlement like [illegible], which was surrounded by more than 1,000 [illegible]. [illegible] number of trades found [illegible] would [illegible] have reached the [illegible] all kinds of [illegible] and [illegible] farmers, [illegible] together with [illegible] fishermen [illegible]. The larger the settlement [illegible] such as [illegible] fullers, weavers, bakers, [illegible] potters, brick makers, carpenters, [illegible] workers and stonemasons [illegible] prostitutes [illegible].

Most, however, of the [illegible] imperial estates [illegible] appear to have been [illegible] other than [illegible] settlements. In the [illegible] one would expect to find a number of special buildings, such as [illegible] granaries for the storage of wheat, barley and [illegible] often equipped with a [illegible]. These estates had their special [illegible] and these could be used by

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[illegible]

people unconnected with the [illegible] worthy to both sides of an agreement." We also hear of [illegible] for making [illegible] and various government for the treatment of grapes to make wine [illegible]. These are not a few glimpses offered us by a small number of papyri [illegible] pointing to any differences between the imperial estate and the estates owned by [illegible] inhabitants of Egypt, they emphasize the similarities between them. [illegible] employees called [illegible], are found in [illegible] a private property in the Arsinoite.

Not all the tenants on the workers of the estate lived in these villages. They were not obliged to do so, and those who rented [illegible] to the landlord most probably had to pay a rent. A large number of the tenants [illegible] even in the vicinity of a nearby estate.[illegible] Some of the [illegible] the rule, while others owned properties of their own [illegible] from the estates where they worked. We hear of [illegible] slaves, orchard-[illegible] in size. Indeed [illegible] impressed by the [illegible].

The [illegible] of an imperial property [illegible] Hermoupolis. Hermoupolis of Sarabaita, from Sokhopaios [illegible] already [illegible] in the second chapter. [illegible] the [illegible] of the imperial estate [illegible] Sokhopaios [illegible] previously of Ptolemaios Satyrion of the Sarkhemoi [illegible]. He requested the [illegible] the [illegible] property [illegible] and [illegible] his own expense [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] land [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] from. Months passed and the [illegible] when the [illegible] completed. [illegible] the [illegible] of the imperial [illegible] of [illegible] which they took them [illegible] with [illegible] from them. He wrote a letter to the [illegible] capable of [illegible] the [illegible] estate [illegible] the [illegible]. We do not know whether the [illegible] was [illegible] and the lessee was [illegible] for the [illegible].

[illegible]

The tenants who were farmers or operated in the marshes and the pastures dealt directly with the [illegible] and the [illegible] from whom they rented or subleased their land. Very few leases remain from the Julio-Claudian period, [illegible] that they differed in any way from other leases of private or public land. [illegible] the process to sublease part or all of their property [illegible] that there was no change in that either previously or after the [illegible] regulation of imperial property. Disputes that involved the application for the [illegible] of the estate of Julia Augusta and the children of Germanicus, especially since it has been taken as an indication of the existence of a monopoly in the production of papyrus. But all the evidence shows that the interest of the Celsi family was the transmission of the papyrus and its sale from the marsh to the state. Nothing in the [illegible] of papyrus, however, [illegible] that the crown and its well-placed agents, [illegible] of the [illegible] in [illegible] during the twelfth year of Tiberius (A.D. 26), [illegible] still paid a sale tax [illegible] supplemental and exceptional [illegible] installments. The emperor had a monopoly [illegible] in the sense that he had absolute control over the products of his own estate.

In the treatment of his tenants the emperor was in a far more advantageous position than any other owner of land in Egypt. The power at his disposal enabled him to cajole, to persuade, to threaten or to compel [illegible] with the law.

There is some evidence that [illegible] the imperial estates, but we are very badly informed with regard to [illegible] known whether Livia Drusilla or Livia Drusilla [illegible] the property. Therefore, there was a period of [illegible] in which [illegible] what [illegible] not part of the [illegible] known. Nothing [illegible] additional evidence [illegible] known to be the period of which certainly, the [illegible] Given the [illegible] of Germanicus, the time of the [illegible] [illegible] indicate that the [illegible] with the world. A [illegible] Nevertheless, [illegible] number of family [illegible] that [illegible]

a partial or a total [illegible] from [illegible] while totally unconnected with the patrimonium principis, it is impossible at this stage of our knowledge to be sure whether these three instances refer to specific exceptional [illegible]

[illegible] the means to which the administration might [illegible] attract a large number of cultivators to the imperial estates, to assure as uninterrupted a cultivation thereof as possible, and to [illegible] to the patrimonium. One such means was compulsion. All the evidence [illegible] comes from the reigns of Claudius and Nero [illegible] Egypt was experiencing an economic crisis in the fifties and sixties [illegible] was further aggravated by [illegible] the life of wild beasts and robbers [illegible] The fact that a number of them preferred [illegible] to their daily life is significant. Furthermore, a prefect [illegible] Rome that [illegible] imperial speculators [illegible] that the palace was not totally satisfied with the revenues of the imperial estates, was apt to employ all means available to himself [illegible] regardless of whether such means might be [illegible] productive in the long run.

Consider, for example, the famous edict of [illegible] in which the prefect Ti. Julius Alexander [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Part of this I would consider unadulterated propaganda and rhetoric, e.g. the sections "no little harm has been done by the compulsion of [illegible] persons inexperienced in such duties" and "I know that it is to the advantage of the imperial [illegible] to have men administer these leases willingly and zealously." To be sure, harm was being done, but this was not the point; more harm was being done, as far as the administration was concerned, when [illegible] persons operated willingly or unwillingly. The prefect is simply [illegible] the [illegible] and this is perhaps [illegible] the single and one of the [illegible] leases: the [illegible] has [illegible] a service that required capital in order to be performed. What is more important is that the prefect acknowledges practices like forced leases to have taken place [illegible] to the general practice of the prefects and as the result of [illegible] temporary [illegible]. He may or he may not have meant only his immediate predecessor [illegible] but since he himself had taken office [illegible] whole years before the publication of this edict, it is difficult to see why people were complaining if he had not enforced such leases. Could the [illegible] be the recently murdered emperor? There is little doubt, however, that he wishes to portray such practices as irregular, illegal and sporadic, certainly not as traditional or systematic.

The little evidence that we have regarding this seems to bear this out, although we have to turn once more to the Arsinoite [illegible].

Two documents that have been taken as indicative of forced leasing are the papers dealing with [illegible], son of Satabous, the lessee of the oil press that we have already encountered in the previous pages. The assumption is that no sane person would have leased such a wretched building to begin with had he not been [illegible]. I have [illegible] and I need only point out that [illegible] person had [illegible] and that many an Egyptian had found himself in even more ridiculous circumstances [illegible] lack of foresight, [illegible] or plain chance. In the last analysis the question must be decided on the [illegible] of the phrase [illegible]. The fact that he had purchased parts of the machinery at his own expense [illegible] may very well [illegible] "wirtschaftliche Zwang" [illegible]. But the fact remains that these [illegible] are [illegible] leased [illegible] complaints about them.

The third document is also [illegible] as evidence of the fact that parcels of [illegible] were assigned to [illegible] for compulsory cultivation. It is a petition addressed [illegible]. The letter is written by a [illegible] husband and brother, [illegible]. I tentatively read the [illegible] of the petition as follows: [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Much of the [illegible] but the situation, as I understand it, [illegible] from the Petronian estate. But at the [illegible] the supervisor of the estate [illegible] properties which Petronius had [illegible] the archon [illegible] had directed the [illegible] but the supervisor [illegible] Petronius. She [illegible] she therefore requests the general [illegible] the new property without further obstruction [illegible] upon [illegible] property. The local supervisor [illegible]

[illegible] taken, on the other hand, [illegible] compulsion [illegible] I think [illegible] should be considered [illegible] Consider, for example, the total possibility that the [illegible] the confiscation of Petronian property [illegible] the payment of the amount of [illegible] the losses [illegible] operation of the amount of [illegible] against the [illegible] property.

[illegible] Philadelphia [illegible] Moreover [illegible]

[illegible]

One should observe that not all tenants of imperial estates during the reign of the Julio-Claudians were [illegible]. One should also note that the [illegible] of originally non-imperial estates (Maecenas, Petronius, [illegible]) apparently after these [illegible] had become imperial property. In this sample [illegible] a privileged group [illegible] exclusively [illegible] estates [illegible] the [illegible] Livia Augusta, Germanicus [illegible]. It is not [illegible] that these appeals during the Julio-Claudian era [illegible] the relative scarcity of documents from the first half of the first century dealing with the patrimonium principis and its [illegible] and considering that the [illegible] among the [illegible] papyri which mention the existence [illegible] Julio-Claudian times, [illegible] the [illegible] seem to have been [illegible] appeals with the [illegible], when the [illegible] began being treated as part of the [illegible] and when the [illegible] had [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible].

By itself, the term [illegible] indicates [illegible] a [illegible] from a service or an obligation. [illegible] Principle on the basis of [illegible] and [illegible] Mommsen [illegible] suggests [illegible] dealing with the [illegible] veterans who had settled in the estates. [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the estate of Laodicea and [illegible] Thus, judging by the [illegible] statutes, they belong to the [illegible] of the General Legislation [illegible] of the population.

M. Rostovtzeff [illegible] the assimilation of the [illegible] a possible proof for the equation of the imperial [illegible] with the [illegible] and [illegible] the impression that the [illegible] of the imperial estates [illegible] were legally bound by a kind of bondage similar to the [illegible] which Stahelin called [illegible] the [illegible] obligations released from such an obligation, [illegible] and [illegible] by [illegible]. Such an interpretation, however, [illegible] the impression that the tenants of the imperial estates were [illegible] settlers. Not only do we know that the inhabitants of [illegible] such as Hakkhias and Karanis and Perkeseis [illegible] Pyrsis also known as a farmer from Heraklepolis who [illegible] some land from the estate of Ti. Claudius Hospitalis [illegible] the time [illegible] and not part of the patrimonium [illegible] and by [illegible] whose property he dwelled.

Rostovtzeff [illegible] the impression that [illegible] parallel to such expressions [illegible] and [illegible]. Wilcken who, believing that the imperial estates were [illegible] the [illegible] compulsory [illegible] appeal the theory that the [illegible] from [illegible]. The papyrus from Philadelphia with the [illegible] Julius A. Morton and more recently by C. C. Schiffer [illegible] the [illegible] why [illegible] emphasize the fact that he does not have to [illegible] exemption from compulsory tenancy regarding only one estate — the [illegible] which he rather all as [illegible]

Both Martin and Chalon overlooked a very serious objection raised by O. Krüger to the phrase [illegible]. As Krüger observed, the genitive [illegible] not have two different syntactical functions, being possessive when it comes to [illegible], separative when it comes to [illegible]. "The individuals are of the same kind [illegible] as they are [illegible] of the same [illegible]." As a grammatically parallel expression Krüger suggested [illegible]. T. [illegible] G. Browne recently offered [illegible] translation for [illegible].

But can we accept Krüger's own solution of the problem, namely that the [illegible] were, like some temples and some priests, exempt from taxation? If we turn once more to the ordinance of the association of the [illegible] of the estate of Claudius, we note that they belonged to a class subject to the poll tax, perhaps the most important clause of the ordinance being that the money for the [illegible] should be paid out of the common treasury of the association to the credit of its [illegible] and [illegible]. These [illegible] seemed to be, therefore, not exempt from taxation — at least not wholly so. In dealing with the problem, A. E. R. Boak summarized his own views as follows: "The word [illegible], however, implies an exemption from some sort of obligation, and I venture to suggest that if we reject the solution proposed by Rostovtzeff and Oertel, it refers to exemption from personal services, such as canal and dike work, transportation, liturgies and the like."

This is by far the most promising line of investigation and what must be further decided is whether it is an agreement between the lessee and his lessor only, or between the tenant and the official administration, that is called by such a name. [illegible] An example of the former kind is offered by a lease of a [illegible] situated on an imperial estate [illegible] rented to M. Aponius Saturninus and Ti. Claudius Balbillus [illegible]. [illegible] the state [illegible] sublet the land to two individuals, releasing the latter from [illegible], a prerogative stated in very interesting words: [illegible]. Since the lessees had no right to grant exemption from a public tax and it is almost certain that we are dealing with an exemption from a private, imperial liability, it is quite possible, therefore, that the [illegible] of the imperial estates were persons exempt from services [illegible] and payments to the owners and the supervisors that other tenants had to contribute. Such a characterization of certain tenants, however, would hardly make sense when encountered in public documents and is totally out of place in the [illegible], where what seem to be juxtaposed are the [illegible] on the one hand and [illegible] on the other.

We are fortunate in possessing a recently published papyrus which deals with one of the [illegible] listed in the [illegible]. [illegible] Horion, son of Petosiris, is called [illegible]. [illegible] complained to a high functionary that this man and his [illegible] have been [illegible]. [illegible] Horion was a collector for four [illegible] or [illegible]. But then he scorned his obligations and refused to undertake any more collections [illegible]. In other words, he acted as if he were an exempt farmer or a person whose name appeared on the album

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[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix One

Non-Imperial Orders

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Herm., *P. Strasb.* 76 (*P. Sarap.* 75) (127/8) Magdola (Grou Samton, Herm.), *CPR* 245 (date ?) Magdola. Uncertain whether the Claudia Athenais mentioned in these texts is the lessee or the owner of this estate. If the former, we are probably dealing with a confiscated property.

7. Iulia Polla (reading uncertain). *P. Lips.* 113 (127/8) Oxy. See Preisigke, *Girowesen*, p. 81. Her identification by Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 139, with the sister of the senator C. Antius Aelius Iulius Quadratus is groundless. Polla (if this is what the papyrus reads) was a common name, even among Egyptian freedwomen.

8. Iulia Berenike: *P. Hamb.* 8 (136) Theadelphia. Probably a descendant of the mistress of the emperor Titus. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, p. 672, no. 45, but this is perhaps too fanciful. Berenike was, for obvious reasons, a name very common in Egypt.

9. Ti. Iulius Theon and his brother Ti. Iulius Theon/Trophimos (joint ownership). *P. Wisc.* 19–20, 21, 22 (156–61). *B. Mich.* inv. 5586+5724+5725 (partially published, Youtie, *ZPE* 1, 1967, pp. 163 ff.). List of Theonines in Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 1954, pp. 103 ff., cf. Schwartz, *Chronique* 30, 1955, pp. 152 f.

10. Philodamos. *P. Lond.* 194 (II), p. 127 (8) Boubastos, cf. Thonell, *P. Stod.*, p. 95, n. 1. *BGU* 312 (138–61) Boubastos; *P. Phil.* 9 (158) Philadelphia. *BGU* 210 (158–9) Psenarpenensis. *BGU* 262 (158–9) Karanis. *P. Oxy.* 13, 56 (inv. 6, 158–9) Psenarpenensis; *P. Bour.* 42 (167) Hiera Nesos. *SB* 10392 (c.a. 188) Philopator: Herakleopolis. *P. Lond.* 2 (219/20) Bakchias, cf. *AJP* 63, 1942, pp. 504 f. (for improved reading). The example par excellence of an estate confiscated by the fiscus Ti because of treasonous, although it was at times called Boubastos (q.v.). See Collart, *P. Bour.* 42 introd., Chalon, *L'édit*, pp. 148 ff., with full discussion and bibliography.

11. Kallimorphos (joint ownership) [illegible] *P. Princ.* 56 (153/4). Its exact status is unknown.

12. Iustus. *P. Stobart*, inv. 2170 (155) Theadelphia.

13. Tonnitios (reading uncertain). *SB* 9587 (c.a. 194) Hermopolis. Confiscated and administered by the *idios logos*.

14. Ius Toponeirias (temple of). *P. Soc.* 103 (192) Hermopolis; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1433 (Oxy.). The only Roman example of the term *oikia* being applied to temple property, the sole Ptolemaic parallel being in *P. Teb.* 6 f. See Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 63.

15. Theonines. *BGU* 103 (201) Sokonopaion Nesos. *BGU* 382 (206) Karanis. Confiscated by the *idios logos*, apparently for non-payment of taxes; in *BGU* 210 (194) Theonines appears as [illegible].

16. Claudius Paulinianos. *P. Bour.* 42; *P. Achmim* (207). Confiscated property. Is he the same choice connected with Paulinos, the famous freedman of Claudius (*PIR*² P 427)? A Ti. Claudius Paulinianus (doubtless a different person) is known from *CIL* VI 12402.

17. Embros. *BGU* 108 (190) Ptolemaic. Fiscal property (one of the authorities is given in the two versions, lines 1–5). See Otto, *Priester und Tempel* I, p. 94, n. 4; Preisigke, *Girowesen*, pp. 199 f.; Rostovtzeff, *Staatspacht*, p. 393; Meyer, *Ptolemäer*, p. 130.

18. Apollonia Berenike. *SB* 9562 (214) Philadelphia.

19. Claudia Isidora. Apia. *P. Oxy.* 3194 (214); *P. Yale* 69 (214); *P. Oxy.* 2997 (214), 1530 (215), 1031 (215/6), 1032 (215), 2110, 1976 (221), 1653 (222), 1030 (223), 2566 (255), *P. Oxl.* 11 (p. 126) and 33 (235). *BGU* 212 (III). Land and house in various parts of the Arsinoite, Oxyrhynchite and the Small Oasis; term *oikia* in *P. Oxy.* 2566.3, 10 only. Confiscated by the fiscus (*P. Oxy.* 2566, *BGU* 212). See Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 390, 674, n. 48, p. 747, n. 61; H. MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus: An Economic and Social Study*, 1935, pp. 39 ff.

20. Apol- (reading abbreviated). *P. Strasb.* 61 (inv. 69) (227–30) Polydeukion. Very likely confiscated. See Preisigke, *Girowesen*, p. 190.

21. Theagenous: *P. Mich.* 620.129-30 (Dionysias, Alexandrou Nesos, Theadelphia) (made up of at least the former properties of Sphex, Aristokles, Acumestes, Skallas, Sokrates, Aulon and Longinus). The term οὐσία is used only in line 295, in a slightly ungrammatical passage. See Lewis, *Mnemosyne* Ser. IV, 16, 1963, pp. 257 ff.; [illegible] 7, 1964, pp. 294 ff.; Shelton, *P. Mich.* 620 introd.

22. Apion: *BGU* II 8 (248) Arsinoite. Confiscated by the idiologos; not to be confused (see Kortenbeutel, *BGU* [illegible] 1953, 451 [illegible]) with the [illegible] Apion [illegible] of Kollanos.

23. Claudius Severus: *P. Oxy.* 2954.1 (?) [illegible]. Confiscated by the fiscus.

24. Ptolemaios (?): *P. Flor.* 396 (288 [illegible]). But the meaning of line 3 is uncertain.

25. Flavius Athenodoros: *P. Strassb.* 200 [illegible] Hermoupolis.

26. Ammonios: *P. Lond.* 214 (II, p. 161) (ca. 270?) (Memphis). Confiscated by the fiscus.

27. Alypios: *P. Strassb.* 284 (*P. Kapsomenakis* 21 in *RecPap* 3, 1964, p. 80) (Hibis?). This is the only occurrence of the term οὐσία in the Heroninos archive.

The following persons have been seen by various scholars as owners of οὐσίαι, although their properties are never so termed, or as recipients of grants of land made by the emperor or the prefect, for which, with the possible exception of no. 11, there is no evidence. See, e.g., Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*², pp. 293, note 6 and 15; Johnson, *Landownership*, pp. 131 ff.; Hohlwein, *JJP* 3, 1949, pp. 63 ff.; Johnson, "Notes" and "Eccentricities." In the last article Johnson argues for a differentiation between οὐσία and κτῆσις, especially his "Eccentricities," p. 81, n. 1, which does not hold true. Both κτῆσις is used at times to refer to part of an estate, but it can also mean the entire property (see *P. Lond.* 1223 (III, p. 139) and *P. Oxy.* 1637; both terms are used in the same document to describe the same property). In an agricultural society "land" and "property" are often interchangeable terms. Moreover, Johnson's theory that οὐσία, κτῆσις and similar expressions refer to "huge lands conceded" (see "Eccentricities," p. 81) by the emperor or the prefect is unfounded. [illegible] and [illegible] are used not only in the two papyri mentioned above, but also in the protocol of the [illegible] (e.g., 1, 3, 22, 23, 29, 30, 31, 37, 80 and 103) and in the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander (lines 16, 24 and 43; see the edition by Chalon, *L'édit*). I fail to see on what grounds a small group of "beneficiaries" has been segregated out of the hundreds of persons who refer to their properties as κτήματα, the standard way of expressing ownership (e.g., in property declarations).

1. Theophilos s. of Alexandros: *P. Ryl.* 399 (I B.C.)
2. Eigellius: *BGU* 1 (Ptolemais Augustus)
3. Ptolemaios s. of Ptolemaios: *P. Ryl.* 140, 152, 153 (36-38)
4-5. Julius Athenodoros and Ti. Claudius Tryphon (joint ownership): *P. Ryl.* 128 (ca. 30)
6. L. Terentius: *P. Mich.* 232 (36)
7. Theon s. of Theon: *P. Ryl.* 148 (39)
8. Asklepiades s. of Ptolemaios: *P. Ryl.* 167 (39)
9. Dionysodoros s. of Lykaion: *P. Ryl.* 146 (39) and 152 (42). Hohlwein (*JJP* 3, 1949, p. 65) argued that the estate was formerly owned by the [illegible] Petronius, for whom see above, Chapter III [illegible] Antonia [illegible] (*P. Ryl.* 146.6-7) with the [illegible] (*P. Ryl.* 127.4-5). Johnson's objections as well as his proposed solutions ("Notes," pp. 123 f.) strike me as too elaborate and unnecessary. We are actually dealing with two different locations: a farmstead

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix Two

Imperial Properties: The Evidence

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

P. Ryl. inv. 2062	261–80	Mendesian	A
SB [illegible]	II		
*P. Thead. 55	IV	Perikia Nomoutheos	
		Arsinoites	
		Theadelphia	
		Euhemeria	

3. CLAUDIA ANTONIA (CLAUDIUS)

***P. Ryl. 138	34	Euhemeria	
P. Fay. 40	162–3	Theoxenis	
P. Brux. 42	167	Hera Nesos	A
		Dionysias III Nesou	A
		Philemnis Nesos	A
		Perkeseis	A

4. ANTONIA MINOR
(= ANTONIA DRUSI = ANTONIA AUGUSTA)

P. Oxy. 123	22	Arsinoite	
P. Oxy. 344	23	Oxyrhynchite?	C
P. Ryl. 140	36	Euhemeria	
P. Ryl. 141	37	Euhemeria	
P. Ross. Georg. II 12	46	Arsinoite	
P. Vindob. Tandem 30	54	Euhemeria	A
P. Ryl. 151	56–7	Herakleia	B
*P. Strasb. 262	126–8	Tebtunis	B

5. Doc. ANTONIA
(unknown which probably DRUSI)

P. Princ. 14	35	Philadelphia	B
		Philemnis Nesos	B
P. Lond. 402	37–47	Arsinoite	B
P. Princ. 14	23–40	Herakleia	B
*P. Lond. 980 (III, p. 99)	44–54		
	110–11	Theadelphia	A
P. Phil. 19	118	Philadelphia	C
*P. Mich. Vogl. 52	138	Tebtunis	
P. Mich. Vogl. 78	144–5	Tebtunis	A
P. Lond. 901	145	Philotera	B
BGU I 303	149	Herakleia Arsinoites	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 31	early II	Theadelphia	
BGU I 303	157	Theadelphia	BC
BGU I 312	158	Soknopaiou Nesos	D
BGU I 260	159–60	Karanis	A
P. Flor. 7	159–60	Karanis?	A

P. Col. Inventory 1a	160	Ptolemaic Philadelphia	D
P. Col. Inventory 4	138–62	Ptolemaic Philadelphia	A
		Polemaiakia	A
P. Berl. Leihg. Inventory	166–8	Ptolemaic Philadelphia	A
P. Mich. 224	172–3	Karanis	AC
*BGU 1064 [= SB 10760]	173	Ptolemaic Philadelphia	
P. Mich. 225	173–4	Karanis	A
P. Ashmol. 26	164	Soknopaiou Nesos	D
BGU 277	11	Soknopaiou Nesos	C
SB 10630	11	Bacchias	D
SB 10611	14	Philadelphia	A
BGU 1097 verso	11–111	Soknopaiou Nesos	D
BGU 1057	212	Soknopaiou Nesos	D
P. Giss. Univ. Bibl. 52	222–3	Tebtunis	A

[illegible]

**P. Ryl. 139	35	Euhemeria	
P. Ryl. 145	111	Euhemeria	
P. Mich. 121 recto I.xii	42	Tebtunis	
P. Mich. 121 recto III.x	12	Tebtunis	C
P. Mich. 234	13	Tebtunis	A
P. Mich. 374.5	46–7	Dionysias/Philadelphia	N
BGU 1050	46–7	Arsinoite	
P. Giss. 2857	50	Euhemeria	
P. Vindob. Tandler 30	54	Euhemeria	A

[illegible] CATALOGUES [illegible]

**P. Ryl. 138	34	Euhemeria	

[illegible] TRADES

P. Mich. 32	30	Karanis	
P. Ryl. 148	20	Euhemeria	

[illegible] ACCOUNTS

SB 10150	3	Arsinoite	C
P. Lond. 445 (III p. 1686)	14–17	Hokkaido	
P. Ryl. 134	31	Euhemeria	
P. Ross.-Georg. II.12	45	Arsinoite	
P. Mich. 546	64–73	Karanis	
P. Hamb. 3	73	Philadelphia	
P. Phil. 19	111	Philadelphia	C
P. Ryl. 207	early II	Psenaro	N
P. Mich. 474	mid II	Pisentaous [Neal]	

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (Seal)	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (Seal)	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (Seal)	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (Seal)	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (Seal)	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]			
[illegible]	II	[illegible]	
[illegible]	II	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	II	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

11. CLAUDIA LIVILLA
1. LIVIA PETIX (LIVIA DRUSI)

P. Ryl. 127	29	Euhemeria	
P. Ryl. 128	32	Euhemeria	
*P. Mich. 5941	46	Karanis	B
*BGU. 237	11	Soknopaiou Nesos	F

12. LIVILLA SOTERIS

P. Ryl. 138	34	Euhemeria	

13. ANTONIA SENSALINA

SB 10224	Cartis I		
P. Ryl. 681	1		
P. Ryl. [illegible] [Wessely, Karanis, p. 4]			
P. Lond. [illegible]	102 [illegible]	Herakleopolis	
*PSI. 214	27 A 8	Ankyronon (Herakleopolis)	AM
P. Ryl. 87	Cols. III	Ankyronon (Herakleopolis)	[illegible]

14. SEBRO

P. Lond. 289 (II, p. 174)	55	Herakleia	MI
Ibid. 181	57	Arsinoe	

15. TIBERIUS

P. Ryl. 114	42	Euhemeria	A
*P. Ryl. 136	12	Euhemeria	

II. THE FLAVIANS

1. VESPASIAN

P. Strassb. 267	12[illegible]	Psenouris	B
P. Berl. inv. 11529 + SB 10512	13[illegible]	Arsinoite	A
P. Mich. 65	13[illegible]	Tyndaris?	B
P. Soc. inv. 1348 (recto)	early II	Arsinoite	A
BGU 1030	15[illegible]	Philadelphia?	AB
BGU 1004	15[illegible]	Philadelphia	
P. Rein. inv. 2102	161–80	Mendesian	AC
P. Acad. II 14	161–80	Mendesian	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 1 (recto)	164–5	Philadelphia	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 4 (recto)	165	Philadelphia	A
P. Bour. 42	167	Hiera Nesos	A
		Dionysias II, Nesos	A
		Philotaou, Nesa	A
		Perkesis	A
P. Ryl. 215	II	Mendesian	B
P. Strassb. 253	II	Philadelphia	A
P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. 52	222–3	Tebtunis?	A
P. Oxy. 3047	245	Oxyrhynchite	
BGU 1046	III	Philadelphia	AF

2. TITUS

P. Berl. inv. 11529 + SB 10512	13[illegible]	Arsinoite	A
BGU 1094	15[illegible]	Philadelphia	
BGU 1050	16[illegible]	Mendesian	A
BGU 1080	16[illegible]	Mendesian	A
P. Rein. inv. 2102	161–80	Mendesian	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 1 (recto)	164–5	Philadelphia	A
P. Bour. 42	167	Hiera Nesos	A
		Dionysias II, Nesos	A
		Philotaou, Nesa	A
		Perkesis	A
SB 10803	II	Mendesian?	
P. Ryl. 235	II	Mendesian	B
P. Strassb. 251	II	Philadelphia	A
P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. 52	222–3	Tebtunis?	A
P. Flor. 317	early III	Arsinoite	
P. Oxy. 62	242	Oxyrhynchite	
P. Oxy. 3042	245	Oxyrhynchite	
P. Athen. 30 verso	III	Arsinoite	A

III. FORMER OWNERS OF JULIO-CLAUDIAN AND FLAVIAN PROPERTIES

1. CLAUDIUS AKIT

P. Berl. inv. 2062	161–69	Mendesian	A
SB 10507	II	Mendesian?	
P. Ross.-Georg. II 42	late II	Fair (Memphite)	

2. TIBERIUS ALEXANDROS

P. BGU 160	26	Fulsenieria	
P. BGU 126	28 v	Fulsenieria	
P. Vindob. Tandem 10	54	Fulsenieria	A

2. bis. ALEXANDROS (idem?)

P. Hamb. 42	167	Daymon (H. Nome)	A

3. ANEMIOS

P. Mich. 555 v.	107	Patsontis	A
P. Mich. 557	116	Patsontis	A
BGU 985	124–5	Karanis	a
P. Monastic. inv. 1108	ca. 136–9	Sokonopaiou Nesos	C
SB 10566	140	Sokonopaiou Nesos	C
P. Mich. 223	172–2	Patsontis	B
P. Mich. 224	172–3	Patsontis	B
P. Mich. 225	173–4	Patsontis	B
BGU 277	II	Sokonopaiou Nesos	c
P. Mich. 372	179 ante	Karanis	A
	ante 211–12	Patsontis	A
BGU 194 verso	II–III	Sokonopaiou Nesos	C
BGU 1018	208	Sokonopaiou Nesos	C
P. Oxy. 3170	III	Simaris (Oxy.)	A

4. PAMELIUS

P. Mich. 530	53	Karanis	a
P. Mich. 524	98	Karanis	a
P. Lond. 26	98	Ptemsire	C
P. Phil. 19	I–II	Philadelphia	C
SB 4314	143	Psenarpsenesis	
P. Coll. Youtie 63	155–67	Arsinoite	A
BGU 1041	158–9	Karanis	A
BGU 1040	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
BGU 1043	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A

BGU 209	158 [illegible]		A
BGU 211	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
BGU 458	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Cairo Goodspeed 15	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Cairo Goodspeed 22	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 27	158 [illegible]	Kalatis	A
P. Chic. 28	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 63	158 [illegible]	Kalatis	A
P. Chic. 64	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 65	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 70	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 73	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 74	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 82	158 [illegible]	Kalatis	A
P. Chic. 84	158 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Oxf. 266	163 [illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
BGU 708	165	Psenarpsenesis	A
BGU 1899	172	Arsinoite	
P. Mich. 224	17[illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	B
P. Mich. 5378	17[illegible]	Kalatis?	B
P. Mich. 472	17[illegible]	Kalatis	A
	[illegible]	Psenarpsenesis	A
BGU 2101	200	Berenikidia	A

A. GENS CRISPINILLA

P. Mich. 151	1	Karanis	

A. DIONYSIOI

P. Strasb. 128	22	Arsinoite	
P. Ryl. 129	50	Euhemeria?	
P. Giss. Univ. Bibl. 12	[illegible]	Philadelphia	A
P. Lond. 980 (III, p. 89)	[illegible]		
	[illegible]	Philadelphia	A
P. Wisc. 11	[illegible]	Philadelphia	A
P. Berl. Inv. 4	148	Arsinoite	A
P. Oxy. 1656	[illegible]	Arsinoite	A
BGU 1056	155 [illegible]	Philadelphia?	AB
BGU 1594	157	Philadelphia	BCD
P. Col. 1 verso 10	160	Philadelphia	BC
P. Col. 1 verso 4	158–[illegible]	Philadelphia	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 1 recto	162–5	Philadelphia	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 1 verso	164–5	Philadelphia	A
		Euhemeria	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 2 recto	165	Philadelphia	A
P. Hour. 42	167	Euhemeria (H. Sogno)	A

P. Berl. Leihg. 13	II	Dionysiadis	A
P. Strassb. 551	II	Dionysiadis	A
P. Gen. 59	207–8	Epipolis	BE

[illegible] DOMYPEIRITIS

P. Ryl. 171	[illegible]	Herakleia	A
P. Oxy. 21	71	Karanis?	B
P. Strassb. 210	[illegible]	Sebech	BE
P. Berl. inv. 11529 + *SB* 10512	[illegible]	Arsinoite	A
P. Mich. Vogl. [illegible]	[illegible]	Tebtunis	A
P. Berl. Leihg. [illegible]	Lite II		
P. Oxy. 52	[illegible]	Karanis	A
P. Rom. 12	167	Division of Sequestr.	A
P. Mich. 223	[illegible]	Karanis	A
P. Mich. 221	172–3	Karanis?	B
SB 10972	after 138	Arsinoite	a
SB 10964	II	Metelis(?)	
P. Ryl. 587	II		
SB 9305	II	Dionysiadis	
SB 11013	II	Psenyposeiris	A
P. Grenf. I [illegible] 32	222–1	Tebtunis?	A
P. Ryl. [illegible]	III	Tebtu (Hermit)	

[illegible] FROS (cf. 12, 21)

P. Lond. 195 (III, p. 127)	early I	Arsinoite	B
P. Berl. Leihg. 29	164	Lagis	A

[illegible] BAUCHEIOUS

P. Ryl. 138	34		a

[illegible] HUCUNDUS (cf. 13, 21)

P. Phil. 19	I BC	Philadelphia	C
P. Med. 65	130–49	Epipolis?	
P. Ryl. 202	early II	Psenyris	A
		Herakleia	A
BGU 1694	157	Theadelphia	C
P. Mich. 224	172–3	Karanis	C
P. Mich. 225	173–4	Karanis	C
P. Mich. 372	120–60		
	ser. 211–12	Karanis	A

11 IUNIER- (=NUMERIUS) (cf. 21)

Bour 42	167	Dryma H. Nesou	A

12 KHARMOS (cf. 9, 21)

P. Lond. 195 (II, p. 127)	early I	Arsinoite	B
BGU 1893	140	Bernikis Aigialou	A
BGU 1630	155 ca.	Theadelphia?	A?
BGU 1894	157	Theadelphia	C
SB Col. I verso 1a	160	Theadelphia	B
P. Berl. Leihg. 29	164	Lagis	A
P. Berl. Leihg. I verso	164–5	Euhemeria	A
P. Mich. 223	171–2	Karanis?	

13 KHRESIMOS (cf. 10, 21)

P. Phil. 19	I/II	Philadelphia	C
P. Med. 65	137–39	Epigonis?	B
P. Ryl. 202	early II	Psenyris	A
		Herakleia	A
BGU 1894	157	Theadelphia	C
P. Mich. 224	172–3	Karanis	C
P. Mich. 225	173–4	Karanis	C
P. Mich. 372	179 ante		
	or 211–12	Karanis	A

14 KHRESTOS

P. Rein. ins. 2002	261–80	Mendesion	C
P. Acad. Ir. 14	262–80	Mendesion	C

15 LAYINOS

P. Rein. ins. 2002	261–80	Mendesion	A
P. Acad. Ir. 14	261–80	Mendesion	C
P. Strasb. 299 (sect.)	II	Mendesion	E
P. Ryl. 427 fr. 15	II/III	Mendesion	
P. Ryl. 427 fr. 22	II/III	Mendesion	B

16 LUKEUS

P. Hamb. 5	74	Philadelphia	
P. Berl. ins. 11520 + *SB* 10512	136 ca.	Arsinoite	A
SB Fay. 82	145	Bernikis Aigialou	A
BGU 1893	149	Bernikis Aigialou	A

SB 10527	152–3	Tebtunis	
P. Athen. 19	154	Arsinoite	A
BGU 1118	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
BGU 284	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 32	158–9	Karanis	A
P. Chic. 36	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 38	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 41	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 43	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 45	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 47	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 50	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Chic. 78	158–9	Karanis	A
P. Chic. 87	158–9	Psenarpsenesis	A
P. Heid. Erlbg. 29	164	Eugis	A
P. Heid. Erlbg. 3 Verso	164–5	Euhemeria	A
P. Hom. 42	167	Herta Nesos	A
		Philoteras Nesos	A
P. Mich. 224	173–4	Karanis?	AB
P. Mich. 352A–B	173–4	Karanis?	AB
P. Petaus 27	184	Kerkeosiris	
P. Petaus 78	184	Kerkeosiris	
P. Ross. Georg. V 84	11	Philadelphia	A
P. Yale inv. 254	11	Arsinoite	A
SB 13011	11	Psenarpsenesis	A

[illegible] NEAPOLEONAN

P. Lond. Xenic. 19	24	Arsinoite	
P. Mich. 250–3	46–7	Bacchias/Philoxenitarontos	B
P. Oxford 20	88–9	Soid	A
SB 9224	90–1	Philadelphia	
P. Ryl. 171	90–7	Herakleos	[illegible]
BGU 151	97	Herakleos	
SB 7242 (= 10917)	97	Bacchias/Philoxenitarontos	B
P. Mich. 3	98	Philadelphia	
P. Phil. 19	100	Philadelphia	C
P. Ryl. 207	2nd/3rd	Neilopolis	A
P. Berl. inv. 11529 + SB 10512	138–9	Arsinoite	A
SB 4434	143	Psenarpsenesis	[illegible]
BGU 1884	151	Soteriopolis	
SB 8972	156–7	Euhemeria	C
BGU 2288	156–7	Psenarpsenesis	A
BGU 1604	157	Dionysiadphia	B
BGU 1805	157	Dionysiadphia	
P. Chic. 24	158–9	Kerkeosiris/Kiu	A

P. Ghis. 42	158–9	Kerkeosiris	A
P. Ghis. 61	158–9	Kerkeosiris	A
P. Ghis. 65	158–9	Kerkeosiris	A
P. Ghis. 81	158–9	Kerkeosiris	A
P. Hamb. 34	159–160	Philometoria	C
P. Col. Inv. 214	160	Philadelphia	H
P. Oxy. 2061	163–4	Psenyrpsenesis	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 29	164	Lagis	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 1 verso	164–5	Petesuchis	A
		Philometoria	A
P. Bouriant 42	167	Hieraka Nesos	A
		Dionysias II. Nesos	A
P. Mich. 223	171–2	Karanis	AH
P. Mich. 224	172–3	Karanis	AH
		Psenaphounis	AH
P. Mich. 457 A + B	173–4	Karanis	AH
		Psenaphounis	AH
P. Mich. 225	173–4	Karanis	D
P. Mich. 172	175–80	Karanis	A
	109/210–12	Psenaphounis	A
P. Iteb. 346	II	Arsinoite	AH
P. Ryl. 194	II	Neokomopolis	A
SB I 1081	II	Karanis	A
P. Oberl. 30	1/2–2/3	Psenaphounis	A

IN ALEXANDRIA OR ALEXANDRIA

P. Lond. 900 (III, p. 89)	[illegible]		
	130–131	Dionysiados	A
P. Col. Inv. 4	138–161	Dionysiados	A
Berl. 1894	157	Dionysiados	H
Berl. 1895	157	Dionysiados	
P. Col. Inv. 214	160	Dionysiados	H
P. Berl. Leihg. 1 verso	164–5	Dionysiados	A
P. Strasb. 351	II	Dionysiados	A

IN ATTICA OR OTHER ALEXANDRIAN CITIES

P. Ryl. 171	50–2	Heraklea	A
W.Chr. 126	54–68?	Sebastopolis Nesos	HF

IN OXYRHYNCHITES

P. Ryl. 267	early II	Neokomopolis	A

23. MARCUS AURELIUS

P. Lond. 195 (III, p. 127)	early I	[illegible]	B
P. Ryl. 171	[illegible]	[illegible]	A
P. Phil. 19	I/II	[illegible]	C
P. Ryl. 207	early II	[illegible]	A
		[illegible]	A
P. Berl. inv. 13529 + SB 10512	[illegible]	[illegible]	A
P. Mich. [illegible]	[illegible]	Ergastula?	B
Berl. [illegible]	[illegible]	Philadelphia	C
Berl. [illegible]	[illegible]	Karanis	A
Berl. Leihg. [illegible]	[illegible]	Lagis	A
P. Berl. Leihg. [illegible]	[illegible]	Tebtunis	A
P. Bonn. [illegible]	[illegible]	Dionysias (Qasr Qarun)	A
P. Mich. [illegible]	[illegible]	Karanis	A/C
P. Mich. [illegible]	[illegible]	Karanis	C
P. Mich. [illegible]	[illegible]	Karanis	A
	[illegible]	Pseudepeneiou	A

24. VERUS SEPTIMIUS

** P. Ryl. 127	[illegible]	Tebtunis	F
BGU [illegible]	[illegible]	Alexandria	
SB [illegible]	[illegible]	Philadelphia	
** P. Hamb. [illegible]	III	Oxyrhynchos	

[illegible] PHILIPPUS (AD 244–[illegible])

** P. Giss. Univ. [illegible]	[illegible]	Alexandria	
P. Lond. 195 (III, p. 127)	early I	Alexandria	B
P. Berl. inv. 13529 + SB 10512	[illegible]	Alexandria	A
P. Berl. Leihg. [illegible]	[illegible]	Tebtunis	A
P. Mich. [illegible]	[illegible]	Karanis	A
P. Mich. [illegible]	[illegible]	Karanis	A
	[illegible]	Pseudepeneiou	A

24. RUTILIUS

SB 4226	early I	

25. TI. CLAUDIUS SARAPION

P. Lond. 260 (III, p. 193)	55	Herakleia	BF

26 L ANNAEUS SENECA

P. Oxy. 2573	62	Oxyrhynchite	a
P. Hamb. 3	74	Philadelphia	
P. Yale inv. 443	83	Oxyrhynchite	a
P. Oxy. 3051	89	Oxyrhynchite	a
P. Hib. 279	late I	Herakleopolite?	A
??*P. Sac.* 448	85/6 or 101/2	Heracleopolite	
P. Lond. verso (III), p. 89?	94/5 or 110/1	Theadelphia	A
P. Ryl. 207	early II	Psenyris	A
?*P. Lips.* 115	132	Mommou Topos (Oxy.)	A
P. Berl. inv. 11529 + SB 10512	135/6	Arsinoite	A
BGU 202	142/3	Karanis	A
BGU 1494	157	Theadelphia	B
BGU 1194	158/9	Karanis	A
BGU 1122	158/9	Karanis	A
P. Chic. 8	158/9	Karanis	A
P. Chic. 14	158/9	Karanis	A
P. Chic. 18	158/9	Ketkesouchis	A
P. Chic. 20	158/9	Ketkesouchis	A
P. Chic. 35	158/9	Karanis?	A
P. Chic. 53	158/9	Karanis	A
P. Chic. 62	158/9	Karanis	A
P. Chic. 63	158/9	Karanis	A
?*P. Chic.* 67	158/9	Karanis	A
P. Chic. 71	158/9	Karanis	A
P. Col. Inv. verso 1a	[illegible]	Theadelphia	B
P. Berl. inv. 10962	[illegible]	Mendesian	A
P. Berl. Leihg. I verso	[illegible]	Theadelphia	A
		Kerkeosiris	A
P. Bour. 42	[illegible]	Hera Nesos	A
		Dionysias II Nesos	A
		Philadelphia Nesos	A
		Perikeiros	AB
P. Mich. 223	[illegible]	Narmouthis?	A
P. Mich. 224	172/3	Karanis	AB
		Patsouthi	AB
P. Mich. 225	173/4	Karanis?	AB
P. Aberd. 182	B	Arsinoite	A
P. Aberd. 50	[illegible] 202	Karanis	A
P. Giss. Univ. Bibl. 52	222/3	Tebtunis?	A
P. Lond. 337	early III	Arsinoite	
P. Ryl. 99	III	Toon (Hermopolis)	

27. SEVERUS

P. Lond. 900 (III, p. 89)	94–96 AD		
	110–11	Theadelphia	A
P. Ryl. 207	early II	Neilopolis	A
P. Berl. inv. 11527v			
= SB 10512	138–9	Arsinoite	A
HGU 1894	138	Theadelphia	B
HGU 31	138–9	Kerkeosiris	A
P. Ghis. 19	138–9	Kerkeosiris	A
P. Ghis. 47	138–9	Hieta [Neiloi]	A
P. Ghis. 56	138–9	Kerkeosiris	A
P. Ghis. 67	138–9		
P. Ghis. 70	138–9	Kerkeosiris	A
P. Ghis. 77	138–9	Kerkeosiris	A
P. Col. I verso Ia	140	Theadelphia	B
P. Col. I verso 4	138–161	Theadelphia	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 13	141–[illegible]	Theadelphia	A
P. Berl. Leihg. 1 verso	[illegible]	Theadelphia	A
P. Heroi. 42	147	Hieta [Neiloi]	A
P. Mich. 224	173–4	Kerkeosiris	AB
P. Mur. Vogl. 281	II	Tebtunis	B?
P. Strasb. 151	II	Theadelphia	
BGU 1035	217	Hieta [Neiloi]	A

28. SOKRATES

P. Berl. Leihg. 1 verso	164–5	Euhemeria	A

Appendix Three

Note on the *Procurator Ustacus*

[illegible]

Firstly, there is the question of the duration of the existence of the department. In Chapter II, I gave my reasons for arguing that the ratio usiaca was the creation of the Flavians, and more precisely of Vespasian. I also believe that there is every reason to posit that it was dissolved by Diocletian. This brings us to a very confused period, during which many imperfectly understood changes took place.[4] With regard, however, to the ousiai, we must note the situation as follows: (a) Fourth-century references to ousiac property are quite rare. I know only of P. [illegible] and [illegible] P. Cairo Preis. 4, and CPR 19. It must be stressed at once that in the papyri of the [illegible] archive (P. [illegible] Sakaon) the term does not occur even once, even though [illegible] documents deal with Kerkesis, a village once surrounded by extensive tracts of patrimonial land.[5] (b) During the fourth century we do not encounter references to ousiac [illegible] that [illegible] ownership, patrimonium, and while land [illegible] referred to as having been [illegible] private, there can be little doubt that all these areas, regardless of how they were styled, were in private possession by the end of the third century. The reason is that the term 'ousiac land' was a generic one at this time, comprising all categories of public land known during the Roman occupation. (c) The latest reference to the ratio usiaca comes from [illegible] (P. Oxy. [illegible]).[6] All available information, therefore, points to a disappearance of the department with the Diocletianic reform.

Secondly, there is the question of the position of the department within the administration of Egypt and its connection, or lack thereof, with the res privata. Noticing that some estates were administered by the usiaca after their confiscation and that the term procurator usiacus appears for the first time by the very end of the second century, [illegible] the theory that the assignment of properties belonging to the usiaca after their confiscation to the [illegible] came about as a result of the changes in the financial administration of Egypt that took place during the reign of Septimius Severus,[7] the emperor who was, he felt, responsible for the creation of the res privata.

Now, as I indicated in Chapter II, there is no evidence whatsoever that such additions were made to the usiaca [illegible] after its creation by Vespasian. But beyond that, we also know now that the emperor's res privata existed before the era of Septimius Severus; the celebrated phrase [illegible] (S.H.A. Sept. Sev. 12.4) is another of the probable misstatements [illegible] in that [illegible] work. The publication of an inscription that goes to the [illegible] (AE 1961, no. 280; reinstated CIL VIII [illegible]) is an indisputable witness [illegible] the date of the first evidence for the existence of the res privata to the reign of Antoninus Pius. Whether this emperor was the originator of the department it would seem totally irrelevant for the present study.

We should also keep in mind that, whatever may have been happening in the rest of the empire, there exists for the moment no evidence for the presence of a res privata in Egypt before the Diocletianic reform, after which both the magistri and the procuratores privatae make their

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[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[6] [illegible]

[7] [illegible]

appearance. For, the equation *ousiai* = *Patrimonialgut* does not hold true unless the estate is part of the *ousiakos logos*. An attempt to demonstrate in **Chapter I**, *Pace Rostovtzeff*,[1] the phrase *hoi tōn ousiakōn* [illegible] that the current owner of the land in question is the emperor, or that the estate belongs to the emperor. The phrase [illegible] *BGU* 462 12), and this is [illegible] parallelled by [illegible] *P. Tebt.* [illegible] and [illegible] *BGU* [illegible]).

Finally, the [illegible] the procurator [illegible] that the scholiast of the Egyptian administration. This [illegible] since it is now generally accepted that the procurator [illegible] the subordinate of the *idios logos*. Nothing, however, has [illegible] the relations between two departments that dealt with fundamentally different [illegible] the *idios logos* were responsible for special and irregular sources of revenue, the procurator [illegible] the regular and stabilized revenues of the patrimonium. [illegible] and Pomeroy [illegible] agreed, the issues of the patrimonium were the [illegible] of the [illegible] it is at best mildly surprising to find the [illegible] responsible to the prefect and the procurator [illegible] accountable to the *idios logos*. The [illegible] a great number of accounts of grain collection, for example, should rather indicate that both the [illegible] and the [illegible] were independent of bureaus subordinate only to the prefect. The critical importance of the entire financial administration of the province.

The suggestion that the procurator [illegible] was the subordinate of the *idios logos* was made at a time when it was [illegible] that the *idios logos* is the chief administrator of the imperial properties, while the [illegible] whether the [illegible] was in charge of the patrimonium or of the [illegible]. Under the [illegible] the procurator [illegible] under the *idios logos* [illegible] was lacking.

We [illegible] that the *idios logos* was [illegible] the patrimonium not the [illegible] Mommsen felt however that the reasons which compelled Wilcken and others to [illegible] that the [illegible] was the subordinate of the *idios logos* [illegible]. [illegible] directly pertaining to this question has become [illegible]. In fact, the evidence that exists now [illegible] there is to be found in a single piece of papyrus, and the [illegible] is [illegible]. In *BGU* 462 [illegible] and in [illegible] we encounter the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The other two [illegible] evidence by Wilcken [illegible] stand on their own but which depend on the interpretation [illegible] *BGU* 462. In *Wilcken* [illegible] (1897) we meet a [illegible] in *Wilcken* [illegible] (1897) [illegible].

Now *BGU* 462 may be regarded as incontestable evidence of the fact that the procurator

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible] evidence [illegible] the *idios logos* [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] p. 644, and [illegible] the same evidence

[illegible] was the subordinate of the *idios logos* only if it can be proven that (a) it was invariably the subordinate of the *epitropos* (which was called upon to become [illegible] the *epitropos* [illegible]), and (b) the *idios logos* and the *epitropos* were combined in one office. The answer to this is given by the recently published *Sklavenbrief* (P. Oxy. [illegible]), where Modestus, known to have been *idios logos* in 154 (P. Oxy. [illegible]), is described as a subordinate, [illegible] with the [illegible] *epitropos* as [illegible] and as [illegible] [illegible] *epitropos* [illegible]. This indicates, unparalleled though it is, beyond any reasonable doubt that (a) the *idios logos* and the *epitropos* were two distinct officers, and (b) the *idios logos*, just like the *procurator* [illegible], could be called upon to act as an independent [illegible].

The case of Claudius Diogenes needs further investigation. Granted that he was procurator [illegible] in 207 (W.Chr. [illegible]), what evidence does it give that he was also his post in 202? All the activities for that period are listed in P. Flor. [illegible]; he is mentioned in matters of the [illegible], specifically the impressment of [illegible], in P. Flor. [illegible]; he is attested as having made an [illegible] [illegible] in P. Hamb. [illegible], P. Oxy. [illegible], P. Ryl. [illegible] and [illegible], P. Giss. [illegible], P. Brooklyn [illegible] (Chronique [illegible], 1961, p. [illegible]) and P. Mertens [illegible]. There the author concludes for general declarations of unwatered land. In some of these documents he is called *epitropos* [illegible]. Not a little complication [illegible] [illegible]. Not one of these documents deals [illegible] with the *paramonion*. Even assuming that the offices mentioned above are the forerunners of the *procurator idios logos*, then we should be willing to assume that the office had enlarged its powers and spheres of administration to a considerable extent, and that it no longer dealt exclusively with the *paramonion*.

In tracing the career of Diogenes, Pflaum [illegible] already argued that, if he had ever been *procurator idios logos*, he was [illegible] in 197 (W.Chr. [illegible]) and that his subsequent title, *sportularius* (*Sportelbeamter*), [illegible] *Epitropos*, is precisely the one borne by Marcus Salutarius, a *sportularius* invariably coupled with Claudius Marcellus. The inferred [illegible] [illegible] [III, p. [illegible]] (P. Oxy. [illegible], [illegible]; P. Lond. [illegible]). There [illegible] that [illegible] a variety of fields [illegible] (P. Oxy. [illegible]) [illegible] the registration of lands but never the *paramonion*. Pflaum suggested that Salutarius was [illegible] to Marcellus, while in 207 the [illegible] to the [illegible] Claudius Diogenes (*Mandat*, P. Giss. [illegible]; also P. Fay. [illegible] [illegible]) was none other than Claudius Diogenes.

Now another person appears on the scene. Publius Cornelius Clemens in the documents where office is recorded from 198 to 201, i.e. the period during which Diogenes was Antoninus's *epitropos* and perhaps [illegible] as well. His activities, however, are those of Diogenes when the latter was promoted to the office of the *idios logos*: he orders a general declaration of unwatered lands (P. Giss. [illegible]) and [illegible] (P. Hamb. [illegible]). There is obviously something fundamentally wrong when two persons appear having strange, indeed identical, claims to the title of the *idios logos* for the same period, when all the evidence indicates that there was only one such official at any given time.

[illegible]

Consider now that two declarations of unwatered land were made in 244/5 not in accordance with the orders of a procurator ousiacus but of an Aurelius Antoninus who bears the title ὁ κρατιστεύων πρὸς τοῖς ἐπιστάσιν (*P. Oxy.* 970 and 3046). On the other hand, a Claudius Alexandros, who bears the title borne by Diogenes and Cerialis, i.e. ὁ κρατιστεύων ἐπιτροπεύων τῶν κτημάτων Σεβαστῶν, and who is expressly stated to have had the same office as the latter, made an enquiring trip in 206/7 and subsequent apes in 208/9 and in 209/10 (*P. Hamb.* 12). We also know of an Aurelius Maximus, ὁ κρατιστεύων πρὸς τοῖς ἐπιστάσιν of ca. 223 (*P. Soc.* 1066; the name should be restored also in *B. Eitl.* 24 verso [no. 19]). Finally, we come across a *Tiberius Claudius Demetrius, domo Neomedia, vir egregius, procurator Augustorum ad ostrum, item idiocrematis epistrategos choras inferioris* (*CIL* V 7870 = Dessau, *ILS* 6762).

An examination of this material leads me to suggest the following. Beginning with the reign of Septimius Severus there appeared in Egypt one official whose primary function was the annual examination of the land, both public and private, especially with regard to inundation or absence thereof. To this effect he issued annual proclamations for the registration of uninundated lands and conducted inspections, either in person or, more possibly, in most cases through such lower officials as *boiarchai* (*P. Giss.* 48) and *proaitoroi* (*P. Soc.* 1066). We should note that it is precisely at this time that the prefect stopped being the only official to issue orders for such annual declarations. There is no evidence whatsoever that this official was the *procurator ousiacus*; on the contrary, all available documents argue against such an identification. The official is a *vir egregius procurator Augustorum Augustorum*, as the case may be; his rank that of *ducenarius*. He is sometimes referred to as ὁ κρατ. πρὸς τοῖς ἐπιστάσιν or similar expressions, but whether this is his official or indeed his sole title is unknown. He serves in close association with the *rationalis* who, although a *ducenarius* too, is however *vir perfectissimus* (*P. Lond.* 1657 (III, p. 140); *P. Oxy.* 78; 3123; 2664; *B. Leit.* 16); but whether he was in fact his official adjutor or not is still unknown.

The following *procuratores Augusti* therefore were not *procuratores ousiaci*:

1. Publius Cerialis, 198–201: *P. Hamb.* 12; *BGU* 2023.

2. Claudius Diogenes, 202–4: *P. Flor.* 278; *B. Giss.* 48; *B. Hamb.* 11; *P. Alexd.* 50; *P. Hal.* 5verso; 6bis; *P. Oxy.* 1113; *P. Brooklyn*; *Chronique*, 38, 1963, p. 117; *P. Mitteis-Meis. Gnos.* I (SB 10617).

3. Claudius Alexandros, 206–9: *B. Hamb.* 12.

4. Aurelius Maximus, 223: *P. Soc.* 1066; *P. Eitl.* 24 verso [no. 19].

5. Aurelius Antoninus, 244/5: *P. Oxy.* 970, 3046.

6. Marcius Sulutarius, 245–8: *B. Lond.* 1175 (III, p. 100); *P. Oxy.* 78; 2123; 2664; *P. Leit.* 16.

7. Ti. Claudius Demetrius, first half of III cent.: *CIL* V 7870 = Dessau, *ILS* 6762.

These seven individuals, then, and the *perfectissimus* Annius Diogenes, already mentioned, should be removed from the roster of the *procuratores ovoo* at least for those years during which they were holding other offices.

I believe that there are more names that ought to be removed from the lists of *ousiaci*.

The Ti. Claudius Blastos, ἐπιστρατηγὸς πρὸς τοῖς ἐπιστάσιν in *CPR* I 183, 31, was almost certainly an *idios logos*. He directed the confiscation and sale of the property of a debitor fisci.

[illegible]

and the fact that the former owner of the property was a [illegible] does not make Blastus an usiacus.[1]

In *BGU* 156 (201) an Aurelius [illegible] directs the sale of the land of another debtor, but who was not even an [illegible]. The fact that a *dispensator Caesaris* is involved in the procedure [illegible]. Rostovtzeff saw in [illegible] a *procurator usiacus*. Wilcken naturally objected, since he had already placed Claudius Diogenes in that time slot. It is possible to consider [illegible] the former of [illegible] for the latter (*BGU* [illegible] and 1090).

In *P.* [illegible] it is ordered that various parcels of land are available for leasing according to the orders of [illegible]. [illegible] in a lengthy introduction, offered a variety of reasons why the official should be [illegible], none totally conclusive but somehow tempting. [illegible] the orders mentioned therein were [illegible], the [illegible] of that year being [illegible] Herakleides.

I have already given my reasons why the Septimius Severus and the Claudius [illegible] of *P. Mich.* [illegible] should be considered as [illegible].

Presently the following [illegible] as procuratores usiaci:

1. [illegible] NUS. *CIL* X [illegible] Iunius Maximus procurator Caesaris usiacus. It is possible that [illegible] was incorrectly read for [illegible] in which case this official is identical with the following.

2. AELIUS EKLEKTOS. *P. Oxford* [illegible] ἐπίτροπος οὐσιακῶν; *P. Wisc.* 34 and 35 (144) Αἴλιος Ἐκλεκτὸς [illegible]; *BGU* 891 (144) Αἴλιος [Ἐκλεκτὸ]ς ἐπίτροπος οὐσιακῶν [illegible]. For the restoration at the end of line 13 see my remarks in *ZPE* [illegible] p. [illegible]; *P. Michael.* [illegible]; *P.* [illegible] Ἐκλεκτός.

3. EIRENAIOS. *P. Meyer* [illegible] Εἰρηναῖος [illegible]; *P. Wisc.* 35 (144) [illegible]; *P. Berl. Inv. Suppl. gr.* 1374 [illegible] = *P. Bremen* [illegible].

4. AELIUS SOKRATIKOS. *SB* [illegible] [Αἴλιος] Σωκρατικὸς ἐπίτροπος οὐσιακῶν; *APF* [illegible] p. [illegible] = *AE* 1963 no. [illegible]; *BGU* [illegible] = *SB* [illegible] Αἴλιος Σωκρατικὸς ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ [illegible]; *P. Berl. Inv. Suppl. gr.* 1374 [illegible] = *P. Bremen* [illegible].

5. P. AELIUS HILARUS. *CIL* XIV [illegible] between 161 and 169, or 176 and 180; P. Aelius Hilarus Augustorum libertus [illegible] procurator [illegible] Alexandriae ad [illegible].

6. FELIX. *CIL* III [illegible] = Dessau, *ILS* [illegible] between 161 and 169, or 176 and 180; Felix Augustorum libertus procurator usiacus.

7. ULPIUS HERAKLEIDES. *P. Tebt.* [illegible] ἐπίτροπος οὐσιακῶν Οὔλπιος Ἡρακλείδης.

8. CLAUDIUS DIOGENES. *W. Chr.* [illegible] Κλαύδιος Διογένης ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ διαδεχόμενος τὴν [illegible].

9. AURELIUS [illegible]. *BGU* 362 (214-5) Αὐρήλιος [illegible] ὁ κράτιστος ἐπίτροπος τῶν οὐσιακῶν διαδεχόμενος τὴν [illegible].

10. AURELIUS [illegible]. *P. Oxy.* [illegible] Αὐρήλιος [illegible] ἐπίτροπος

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] *P. Giss.* 3 (103/122 CE). Another [illegible]

II. MYRON (P. WCtr. [illegible]) [illegible] Myron. Another [illegible]

Unnamed procurators [illegible] as well as the [illegible] are mentioned in the following documents: *BGU* I 104[illegible] (ca. 13[illegible]) where the [illegible] of line 11 is the [illegible]; *P. Amh.* 77 (1[illegible]); *BGU* [illegible] (1[illegible]) where in line [illegible] a procurator may be supplied for the [illegible] suggested by Wilcken; *W.Chr.* [illegible]; *P. Giss.* 40 (2[illegible]) where the [illegible] may have been Aurelio-Heliodo[illegible]; *P. Strasb.* [illegible]; *P. Oxy.* [illegible] (1[illegible]) (2[illegible]) (2[illegible]) (2[illegible]) (1[illegible]).

I should like to close this note with a list of the known lower non-dignitary officials of the patrimonium:

1. Kritias, [illegible] (*BGU* [illegible])
2. Πανοκλῆς, [illegible] (*P. Amh.* [illegible])
3. Νεῖλος, [illegible] (*P. Oxy.* [illegible])
4. Αὐρήλιος Ἡσύχιος [illegible], Αὐρήλιος [illegible] (*P. Wisc.* [illegible])
5. [illegible], [illegible] (*P. Wisc.* [illegible])
6. Αἴλιος [illegible] (Δίων Σωσικράτους [illegible] *API* 5 (1903), p. 562 = *SB* [illegible], no. 126 = *JGRR* I [illegible] = *SB* [illegible])
7. [illegible] (*BGU* [illegible])
8. [illegible] (*P. Oxy.* [illegible])

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Addenda

Since the submission of the manuscript to the publisher early in 1977, two short but important works have appeared, and it is indeed a pity that we have not been able to make use of them: R. MacMullen, "Two Notes on Imperial Properties," *Athenaeum* 54, 1976, pp. 29-36, and D. J. Crawford, "Imperial Estates," in M. I. Finley, ed., *Studies in Roman Property*, Cambridge, 1976, pp. 15-70 and 175-207. [illegible] Nor has a collection of the pertinent evidence so exhaustive, but considered, discriminating and penetrating, and his conclusions (though perhaps some of the details of his reconstruction would have already been made by Dr. A. Bowman in *JRS* 66, 1976, pp. 173-5 and 176).

A number of papyri quoted in the notes of this book have been also published in the meantime. Other papyri, important for [illegible] use of them in the body of the work, but they have been incorporated [illegible] in the collection in Appendix II. They are: *BGU* [illegible] P. Hamb. [illegible] *ZPE* [illegible] p. 164; P. Oxy. 19 and 20; [illegible] Ness, 1982, 5[illegible] and 1[illegible]; [illegible] P. Lond. [illegible] papyri which supersede texts published with [illegible] Ἐφημερὶς Κλεωπατρικῶν (Κλεωπατρικὴ Ἀντιμαχία) [illegible] Ἐφημερὶς; Τάξις Ἀλ[illegible] 240 cf. [illegible] Ἐφήβων; [illegible] Κλεωπατρικὴ Κωμωδία; Ἐπιβλητικὴ Γεωμετρία; Ἀποστολικὴ [illegible]; Ἐπίστολη; [illegible] 404, all very likely in the Arsinoite.

Lastly, three of the papyri mentioned in p. 7, Abbreviations (p. viii) have since been published by myself: P. Sorbonne inv. 1160 (P. W. 8 inv. 104) and 9. Yale inv. 443 in *BASP* 12, 1975, pp. 85-92, and P. Sorbonne inv. 1170 (P. Westons 114) in *ZP* 19, 1976, pp. 247-51.

Page 7, note 16: [illegible] and adventitious see also A. L. Hanson in *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Brussels, 1975, p. [illegible], and F. [illegible] *The Family of the Fikrin Into Theories* (Studia Amstelodamensia [illegible]), Amsterdam, 1976, p. [illegible].

Page 11, note 43: My correction of *P. Oxy.* 3161 [illegible] Shelton, see *P. Oxy.* XLV, p. xxiii.

Page 13: In *P. Soc.* 1150 (see the re-edition and notes of G. Messeri in M. Manfredi, ed., *Correzioni e miglioramenti di papiri della Società Italiana*, Florence, 1977, pp. 40-9) dated 19 Nov. 27 B.C., occurs the phrase [illegible] Ἑβραϊκὸν [illegible] Κεφαλαίου Ἀπολλωνίου [illegible] which would not only [illegible] the presence of [illegible] p. 53, but also present us with the earliest evidence of [illegible] owned by Augustus in Egypt.

Page 19, with note 20: On Dionysochaos see also G. Bastianini, "Ostrakon di Dionysochaos in epoca romana," Papyologica Bruxellensia 11, Brussels, 1972, pp. 8-11-12.

Page 30. Dr. Crawford has drawn my attention to Strabo 17.3.29, where an island in the Thebaïs particularly productive of the best date-wine is described as an imperial possession. Strabo uses the phrase [illegible] which implies that the Romans expropriated it. I suppose he means, but it is more natural to understand the word as referring to the prefects of Egypt.

Page 48, note 38 and page 57, with note 44. On *P. Mich.* see now N. Lewis, *BASP* 11, 1974, pp. 52–4, and *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford, 1974, pp. 108–9 and 114.

Page 57, with note 45. On the analogy of *P. Oxy.* 2832 (v. 16), second line read *P. Mich.* 560, 8–9 [illegible].

Page 66, no. 9. See now Sippel's [illegible] mentioned above, addendum to page 7.

Page 68, no. 10. See further my remarks in *Studia Papyrologica* 14, 1975, pp. 85–102.

Page 66, no. 12. See my remarks in *ZPE* [illegible], 1979, pp. 247–51.

Page 67, no. 21. See further F. F. Gallavotti, *Melanippe di Euripide*, [illegible] *Atti* [illegible] Sestri, Pavia, 1977, pp. 217–25.

Page 74. On *P. Antinoop.* 31 see my short contribution in *Hellenica* 28, 1976, p. 51.

Pages 83–8, with note 80. The earliest reference to a magistrate is in *P. Oxy.* 3247 and *P. Berlin Papyr.* [illegible] A 13, 204.

Page 87, with note 16. It is very gratifying to note that P. J. Parsons (*Greece & Rome*, 1974, pp. 136–7) has independently reached the same conclusion as I have [illegible]. In my note I should now the important *P. Oxy.* [illegible], [illegible] and see J. Rea's comments ad loc.

Indexes

B. Inscriptions, Coins, Papyri and Tesserae

[illegible]

AE 1905, no. 226: see SB 4231
1925, no. 69: 16
1965, no. 260: 85
APF 2 (1903), p. 562: see SB 4231
BGU [illegible]: 87, 94
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